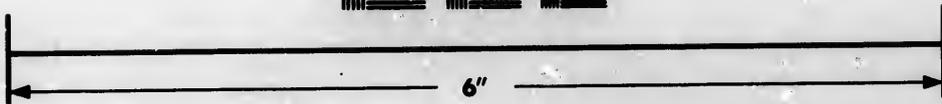
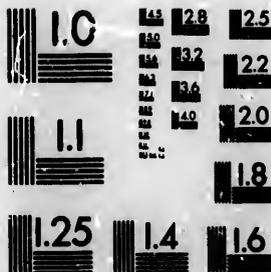


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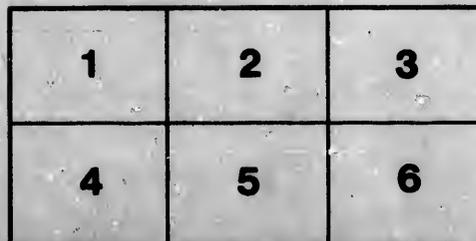
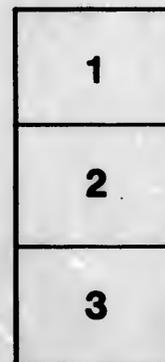
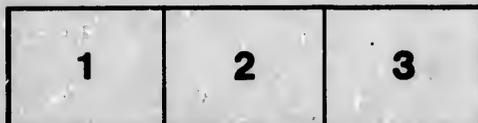
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CHRONICLES OF CANADA:

BEING

A RECORD,

OF

ROBERT GOURLAY, ESQUIRE,

NOW

ROBERT FLEMING GOURLAY.

No. 1.

Concerning the Convention and Gagging Law;
1818.

MR. GOURLAY'S ARREST AND TRIAL, &c. &c. &c.

SECOND EDITION, ABRIDGED.

INGERSOLL, C. W.

RE-PRINTED AT THE "CHRONICLE" OFFICE,
1857.



CHRONICLES OF CANADA. 1818.

Principles and Proceedings of the Inhabitants of the District of Niagara, for addressing his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, respecting claims of Sufferers in War, Lands to Militiamen, and the general benefit of Upper Canada.—Printed at the "NIAGARA SPECTATOR" Office—1818.—Price, one shilling, c'y.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF UPPER CANADA.

St. Catharines, Niagara District, 5th May, 1818.
FRIENDS AND FELLOW SUBJECTS!

WE lay before you the Principles and Proceedings of the People of this District, and example being better than precept, we have now only earnestly to entreat you to join in the cause. You will here find that we have been opposed, but opposition has strengthened us. It would swell too much this little Publication to give a list of Subscribers; but they will be found, week after week, in the Niagara Spectator, as room will admit. They already amount to upwards of nine hundred, and are daily increasing. Money has awaited for the Address, which is only this day prepared, and will be found below.

ROBT. HAMILTON, } *Rep. esentatives for the*
WM. ROBERTSON, } *District of*
CYRUS SUMNER, } *Niagara.*
JOHN CLARK, }
A true copy. WM. J. KERR, Secretary.

TO THE RESIDENT LAND OWNERS OF UPPER CANADA.

Niagara, April 2nd, 1818.

GDNTELEMEN—Your Parliament is broken up—a second time broken up, from employment of the most vital import to the

honor and well being of the Province!—Good God! what is to be the end of all this?

For my own part, gentlemen, I had little hope of satisfaction from the sitting of Parliament, after perusing the Administrator's speech from the throne; and this little was entirely extinguished with the disgusting reply made to that speech, by your representatives. That a man who had spent the best part of his life in Upper Canada—whose every interest and affection rested here, should even read a speech, not only containing mean sentiments, but notifying a measure, provoking in the extreme to the feelings of a large body of his suffering countrymen, was indeed heart-sickeuing; yet this was not all: What could we expect—what sensation could swell in our breasts when we found men, employed and paid by these very sufferers, to guide their affairs and watch over their interests, bowing down to kiss the rod of affliction, and in return for a most insulting offer, granting a receipt in full for demands, equally just and well authenticated?

Gracious Heaven! Did we, the offspring of early civilization—the first hope of genuine liberty—the favored wards of Divine revelation, come to this new world, only to witness the degradation of our kind, and be humbled beneath the rude savage who ranges the desert woods? Surely, British blood, when it has ebbed to its lowest mark, will learn to flow again, and yet sustain on its rising tide, that generous—that noble—that manly spirit which first called forth applause from the admiring world.

It has been my fate to rest here nearly two months, viewing at a distance, the scene of folly and confusion—by turns serious, and

by turns jocular, that the serious might not sink into the melancholy. I have advised—I have in duty offered services, but in vain: on went the sport, till yesterday, when the cannon announced to us that the play was over; and now we have the second speech of the Administrator, who has appropriately sunk down from the throne to the chair!

Gentlemen, the constitution of this province is in danger, and all the blessings of social compact are running to waste. For three years the laws have been thwarted, and set aside by Executive power: for three sessions have your Legislature sat in Assembly, and given sanction to the monstrous—the hideous abuse. A worthy catastrophe has closed this farce of Government; your Commons and your Peers have quarrelled, and the latter would assert that the constitutional charter of Canada may be trifled with. What is to be done? Do you expect anything from a new Governor?—you will be disappointed. Do you expect anything from a new set of representatives?—here again you will be deceived. Your members of Assembly are now at home: compare their characters with those around them, and you will find them equally honest—equally wise—equally independent. Now, that they are returned to society, as private individuals, I should be the very last man to call in question their worth or their probity; they are probably every way above par. It is not the men, it is the *system*, which blasts every hope of good; and, till the system is overturned, it is in vain to expect anything of value from *change* of representatives, or Governors.

It has been the cant of time immemorial, to make mystery of the art of Government. The folly of the million, and the cunning of the few in power, have equally strengthened the reigning belief; but it is false, deceitful and ruinous. The people of every nation may, at any time, put down either domestic tyranny or abuse—they may, at any time, lay a simple foundation for public prosperity; they

have only to be honest, and, in their honesty, bold.

In my last address to you, I said that the British constitution was “that beautiful contrivance by which the people, when perfectly virtuous, shall become all powerful.” Did you mark these words?—did you weigh them?—they are as important as they are true. We, of all men, have least to oppose us in correcting the errors of our constitution. The British constitution has provided for its own improvement in peace and quietness: it has given us the right of petitioning the Prince or Parliament; and this exercised in a proper manner, is competent to satisfy every virtuous desire.

My present purpose is not to dwell on theory; but to recommend and set example in the practice of using this glorious privilege. As individuals we have a right to petition the Prince or Parliament of Britain; and we have a right to meet for this purpose, in collective bodies. My proposal now is, that a meeting be forthwith held, in each organized township throughout the province. I shall take upon me to name the day for the meeting of the people of this township of Niagara, and say, that on Monday next, the 13th inst., I shall be ready by 12 o'clock, noon, at Mr. James Rogers' Coffee House, to proceed to business, with whoever is inclined to join me. The people of each township should, I conceive, at meeting, choose a representative and clerk. The representatives should assemble from the several townships, within each district, on an appointed day, to draw up a petition to the Prince Regent; and which could, soon after, be got signed by every well wisher to the cause.

The district meetings should, without delay, hold conference by representatives, each respectively choosing one, to meet in a provincial convention, and who should arrange the whole business—dispatch Commissioners to England, with the petitions, and hold correspondence with them, as well as with the Supreme Government. Two or three Coun-

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missioners would suffice; and the necessary cost of carrying the whole ably and respectably into effect, would require but a trifling contribution from each petitioner. It is not going out of bounds to reckon on ten thousand petitioners; and a dollar from each, would make up a sum adequate for every charge. I should recommend the subscriptions and payments to commence at the first township meetings—the money to be paid to the clerks, who should keep in hand one-seventh, for local and incidental disbursements, and pay over the remainder to a Treasurer, to be appointed in each district, by the representatives, at their first meeting. Beyond making choice of representatives and clerks, the less that is done at township meetings the better; debate, of all things, should be avoided. The clerks should minute transactions, and keep a list of subscribers, which should be immediately published in the nearest newspaper within the province, and week after week, in the same manner, should be reported additions. The public would thus, at once, see the strength and growth of the cause, as well as have vouchers for the payment of cash. Every transaction should be plain, downright, and open to view or inspection—every principle should be declared—every proceeding be made known.

The simplicity of all this, and the ease with which it may be accomplished, is obvious: to go into more minute detail, at present, would be wasting time. No man, by joining the cause, can lose more than a dollar; and no responsibility is incurred. As I take upon me to name the day of meeting for this township of Niagara, so that meetings may appoint days for the meetings of other townships, and for the district meetings; seeing that it can be matter of no consequence who settles such points, provided the business thereby, has a fair chance of commencement, and that the whole system of petitioning may proceed without doubt or delay. No man, upon such solemn occasion, should say, "I am greater than

another, and will not be seen acting with him:" no one should say, "I am less, and therefore presume not to set myself forward." On such an occasion, and under such circumstances as the present, every party and every personal prejudice, should be put down; every eye should be resolutely bent on the one thing needful—a radical change of system in the government of Upper Canada.

I address myself particularly to Landowners, because their interests are most deeply involved; but every man resident in Canada—every man who is a lover of peace—who desires to see their country independent of the United States—who desires to see a worthy connexion maintained between this Province and Britain—every man, in short, who has a spark of sincerity or patriotism in his soul, has now sufficient cause to bestir himself.

There was a time when Israel was famished with intense drought. Day after day, and week after week, the uncovered sun rose, only to frighten the nation, and open more wide the yawning fissures of the scorched earth:—there was yet, however, faith in Israel; and the faith of a few, brought, at last, salvation to the expiring multitude. Let not the ancient record be lost to these modern days; let not the signs and figures of the material world be thrown aside, as vain emblems, illustrations, and manifestations of the will, the power and the goodness of God. He never deserts his creatures while they are true to themselves, and faithful to him, while they honorably put to use the Divine gifts of rationality. The course to be pursued, by the people of this province, at the present juncture, is so clear, that he who runs may read: they have only to put trust in the success of their own virtuous endeavors; and success will as surely follow as day succeeds to-night. Yes, worthy inhabitants of this township of Niagara, you may begin the necessary work with confidence. The little cloud which rose from the horizon, at first no bigger than a man's

hand, gradually expanded—mantled over the relentless face of a burning sky, and at last showered down refreshment on a thirsty land.

The good which may result not only to this Province, but to the general cause of truth, should these proposals be *cheerfully* and *alertly* adopted, surpasses all calculation. It would be needless for me now to descant on the subject. If there is really no public spirit in the country, I have already thrown away too much of my time; if there is, let it now be shown; for never was occasion more urgent. If the people of Canada do not *now* rouse themselves, they may indeed have plenty whereon to exist; but to that "righteousness which exalteth a nation," they will have no claim. The farmer may plod over his fields—the merchant may sit drowsy and dull, in his store: but the life, the vigor, the felicities of a prosperous and happy people, will not be seen in the land; the superiority of public management in the United States will bother all hope of competition: America will flourish, while Canada sinks into comparative decay; and another war will not only bring with it waste and destruction, but ignominious defeat.

In the scheme proposed, I will accept of no appointment; but persons acting in it shall have my utmost assistance, and I shall make clear to them every course to be pursued. As soon as matters come to a head, all information collected by me, shall be at the disposal of the Commissioners; and even better consequences may be expected from this popular movement, than any that could have followed from the Parliamentary inquiry, had that been allowed to proceed. It will shew, that though the rights of Parliament may be trifled with, those of the people of Upper Canada are not so easily to be set at defiance.

The Assembly of the lower province, is to petition the British Parliament, as to their trade; your representatives are to petition the Regent, as to their privileges; when I

found my petition set aside and despised, at York, I dispatched one immediately, to be presented to the House of Commons, in England, to call attention there to Canadian affairs. All this will go for little, if something else is not done. You have read in the newspapers, of my scheme having been discountenanced by Ministers at home; you have read of speculations upon making the best bargain with the United States, for these provinces. I know whence all this proceeds: I know what would open the eyes of the people and government at home, to the true value of the Canadas, and put an end to such unnatural—such disgusting surmises; and all this I shall be happy to explain, as soon as explanation can be useful. One thing I am very sure of, that if the people of Canada will only do their duty as honest men, and as brothers, in unity, not only every just claim may be paid by next Christmas, but a foundation may be laid for this province becoming speedily the most flourishing and secure spot on the habitable globe.

ROBERT GOURLAY.

TOWNSHIP MEETING.

Niagara, April 13, 1818—Which day a numerous meeting of the inhabitants of the township of Niagara, having been held at the house of JAMES ROGERS, and DAVID SECORD, Esq., M. P., being called to the chair, the address of Mr. Gourlay, to the Resident Land Owners of Upper Canada, dated April 2nd, 1818, was read over, and its whole tenor and sentiments unanimously approved of. In conformity to the recommendations therein contained, the meeting proceeded to elect a representative and clerk, when Robert Hamilton, of Queenston, Esquire, was appointed to fill the former situation, and John Ross, of Niagara, Esquire, the latter. A committee, also, was appointed, to forward the views of the meeting, viz:—Timothy Street, John Hagan, Wm. G. Hepburne, and Robert Moore, Esquires.

Monday, 20th of this present month, was named as a proper day for the meetings of other townships within the district of Niagara, and Monday, 27th, for the meeting of the representatives from the various townships, to be held at SHIPMAN'S tavern, St. Catharines; the committee duly to advertise the same, and take such steps as to them

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The thanks of the meeting were then unanimously voted to David Secord, Esquire, for his public spirit in coming forward, on this occasion, and liberally fulfilling the duties of the chair.

DAVID SECORD, *Chairman.*
A true copy. JOHN ROSS, *Clerk.*

TO THE PUBLIC.

It having been stated to me by some of my friends, that the public mind was impressed with the idea of my having participated in, and sanctioned, the recent improper and unwarrantable publications of Mr. Robert Gourlay, I conceive it a duty which I owe to the Government, to the province, and to myself, to declare, that, beyond publishing a statistical report of this province, he had neither my approbation nor my countenance.

In making this declaration, I trust that the tenor of my life justifies my asserting, that factious discontent never originated in my breast. Having said this much, in vindication of my own sentiments, I shall, in order to prevent error in, and rescue from distress the heedless proselytes of Mr. Gourlay's "one thing needful"—viz: a radical change of system in the government of Upper Canada," transcribe for their information, an extract from the common law of the British empire, which bears on the point of unlawful meetings or conventions, viz:

"The constitution of Great Britain having placed the representation of the nation, and the expression of the national will, in the Parliament, no other meeting or convention, even of every individual in the kingdom, would be a competent organ to express that will; and meetings of such a nature, tending merely to sedition, and to delude the people into an imaginary assertion of rights, which they had before delegated to their representatives in Parliament, could only tend to introduce anarchy and confusion, and to overturn every settled principle of government."

An act of Parliament was passed in Ireland, in the year 1793, to prevent any such meetings or conventions; and a few ignorant individuals, who, in the same year, had dared to assemble under that title in Scotland, were quickly dispersed, and their leaders convicted of seditious practices; for which they were sentenced to transportation.

I shall conclude with recommending to

all, to weigh well how they attend to visionary enthusiasts. THOMAS CLARK.
Niagara, April 18, 1818.

PUBLIC NOTICE.

IN consequence of a handbill having this day appeared, signed by the Honorable THOMAS CLARK, of the Legislative Council, in which an attempt is made to stigmatize the principles adopted by the Niagara meeting, the committee, appointed by that meeting, recommend the people of other townships, (where any *Joult* may exist, in consequence of Mr. Clark's handbill,) to postpone the election of their representatives, until a future day of meeting is advertised.

Great as the necessity is, for an instant appeal being made to the Supreme Government, regarding the state of Upper Canada, the committee would by no means press any measure until its legality is proved, and its propriety fairly established in the public mind. They pledge themselves to shew, in a few days, that they are not only right in what they have done, but that the Honorable Thomas Clark is grossly mistaken.

(Signed for the Committee.)
ROBERT HAMILTON.
Niagara, April 18, 1818.

Till there is time for further proof, the following will testify the strange inconsistency of Mr. Clark:

To Clerk of Township Meeting, 13th April, 1818, Niagara.

Queenston, 13th April, 1818.

SIR—You will herewith receive two dollars—one of which is the subscription of the Hon. Thomas Clark, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of carrying a petition to the Prince Regent, relative to the situation of this province; the other dollar for the same purpose, from your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) W. G. HEPBURNE.

We certify, that we saw Mr. Clark give the dollar above mentioned, to Mr. Hepburne, for the purpose above also specified.

(Signed) THOS. DICKSON.
JAMES KERBY.

To the worthy Inhabitants of the District of Niagara.

Niagara, April 21st, 1818.

GENTLEMEN—The above placards have already spoken for themselves. It is now my duty not only to defend my character as an individual, but to maintain the grand con-

stitutional right of all British subjects—the right of holding meetings for petitioning the Prince or parliament. This right a Legislative Councillor has dared to question and trauduce; but woe to every attempt which would lessen the liberties of the people, and vitiate the oracles of truth.

Gentlemen—But for the unnatural, the insidious, the infamous placard which is now placed before you, yesterday would have been a day of concord and confidence: yesterday, the sun of regeneration would have risen to Upper Canada, without a cloud; but it will yet rise, and shine more bright, triumphant over the murky clouds of the morning.

The history of Mr. Clark's unhappy proceedings, and the defence of my own conduct and principles, shall follow, after I have first established the weightier matter of the law—our undeniable and, till now, unquestioned, right of petitioning, and of holding public meetings for doing so. The right of petitioning is one of the grand articles of the Bill of Rights solemnly passed into law, when the British people had driven one Sovereign from the throne, and were about to establish in it another more agreeable to their will. No act of Parliament is half so sacred as this—the second great charter of British liberty. It emanated purely from the people uninfluenced by sovereign power, or unswayed by domineering aristocracy; and the era which gave it birth, stands emblazoned in history as our glorious Revolution. The Parliament of Britain has never questioned this great right of the people, and the people are in the constant habit of exercising their right. The meetings of last year, in England, at some of which 20,000 people were collected together, were all held under this grand constitutional privilege, and not a question was made regarding their legality. The Parliament of Britain never attempted to suppress even the Spa-fields meetings, which excited in the minds of some, the greatest alarm; and I, myself, was in the House of Commons when Lord Folkstone presented a petition from one of these meetings, on the evening of the very day on which it was held.

What is all this which Mr. Clark has set before the people of Upper Canada, as a bugbear to frighten them out of the exercise of their most sacred right? What is this quotation from the statute book? what are these stories to us, which concern the Irish rebellion and the conviction of traitors? Is it possible that Mr. Clark could seriously believe that he could for any length of time

impose, even upon the ignorant, or appal the timid, with recitals of this nature? Can any man read the act of Parliament, which he has quoted, and not perceive, that it has no eye whatever to peaceable meetings.—The act clearly specifies the sort of meetings which it was framed to repress—meetings “tending merely to sedition, and to delude the people into an imaginary assertion of rights.” In the name of God, I ask, where is the symptom of sedition to be discovered in this province? Unless from the mouth of the Hon. Thomas Clark, I never heard a breath in Upper Canada which could, by the remotest construction, be applied to anything of the kind. The pure and ardent loyalty of the people here, has been one strong influence with me in exerting myself towards improving the connexion of Canada with the mother country; and it excited in me peculiar feelings of disgust when I read in the newspapers, that surmises were on foot for bartering away such people, like slaves to the United States. If I am guilty of sedition, why does not the Hon. Thomas Clark do his duty and bring me to trial?—Mr. Clark knew of the Niagara meeting, and of my being present there, yet he suffers me to go at large to advise and attend other meetings—nay, not only am I going at large and doing all this, but I dare the highest Magistrate in the province to lay hands upon me. There is thus no alternative for Mr. Clark, but either to do his duty, and arrest me, or to leave me alone, and thereby satisfy the world that he has been woefully imposing on the public by assailing my conduct and principles—wofully and wantonly scandalizing the rights of the Canadian people. Doubting that the ignorant and timid might not be sufficiently astounded with a quotation of law, Mr. Clark seems to expect that my “headless proselytes” will be certainly driven from their meetings, and appalled, forever, by a reference to an Irish act of Parliament, and a hint, as to what befel the ignorant in Scotland. In the year 1793, everybody knows, that rebellion was nearly bursting out, both in Great Britain and Ireland; and everybody knows that soon after this, it did break out in the latter. I myself visited Ireland, in the midst of its fiercest rebellion, when I was allowed to land and pass along, only from being known to the commander of the King's troops. I had, thus, better opportunities than Mr. Clark, of being acquainted with the state of that country, and the necessity for strong measures on the part of Government; and I was still bet-

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ter informed than he could possibly be, of the situation of things in Scotland. I attended the trial, in Edinburgh, of one of the chief offenders, and remember well, on what grounds he and others were transported.— They were charged with holding secret meetings, with administering oaths of secrecy, and having warlike arms in preparation for carrying their designs violently into execution. Who would not wish to see men convicted of such practices, "sentenced to transportation?" Have I done anything of this sort? have I held secret meetings? have I sworn any one to secrecy, or been an advocate for oaths? have I or my proselytes, anything to do with warlike arms? Mercy on us, for, by act by, the Hon. Thomas Clark will accuse us of sedition for eating our food, and of treason, for meeting together, in church, to put up our prayers to the Almighty!

After the public, to whom Mr. Clark's placard is dedicated, have been so grossly insulted by him, I am persuaded it would be but further insult, should I say another word on this part of the subject. I only wish that I could here stop, and let Mr. Clark rest in quiet, among "visionary enthusiasts;" but my duty, both to myself and the public, calls loudly for further explanation.

From the first paragraph of the placard, it would seem as if I was dependant on Mr. Clark, and that, without the approbation and countenance of this very self important personage, I had a right to do nothing in this world. I flatter myself that I am in any way dependant upon him, or that at any stage of my statistical inquiries, I have been ruled by his advice or authority. My first address, printed at York, was never, till its publication, shown to Mr. Clark; and with respect to my "recent improper and unwarrantable publication," who could ever suppose me under his patronage, who now does his "duty to the Government, the province and himself," by protesting against them? The insinuations of the placard, groundless as they may be, are yet nothing to what Mr. Clark has uttered in public, regarding me. Yesterday, he attended the meeting of his own township, and there I am sorry to say, disgraced himself, in a manner beyond all precedent. Mr. Clark stood forward at the Stamford meeting, and declared that I was a person wholly without means of subsistence—that the dollar he gave Mr. Heburne, was meant for my private aid, as a poor man—that he had lent me money, in England, which I had squandered—that I had not a

foot of land belonging to me, in Upper Canada; and that my sole object in what I was now about, was to get possession of the money subscribed by petitioners. If a dozen honest men had sworn that Mr. Clark was capable of such declarations, I would not have believed them, before the absolute fact was proved; and I trust that, under circumstances, the public will excuse my stating the truth, as to my private affairs, which, upon any ordinary occasion, would be quite impertinent.

I became acquainted with Mr. Clark, for the first time, when he was at home, during the war. He then came to Wiltshire, and spent a few weeks at my house. I am the oldest son of my father, who, at that time, was in possession of a landed estate, in Scotland, worth, with its stock, upwards of £130,000. Having, for some years, been involved in a law suit, on a question which unluckily my father had misconceived, he had withdrawn from me his countenance, and I was left to the support of other friends, in prosecuting my suit. My situation being known to Mr. Clark, he volunteered to me a loan of £500. Little more than a year after this, my father's affairs became involved. Till the age of seventy-five, he had carried on the most extensive agricultural operations of any man in the kingdom; and for integrity, as well as perfect knowledge of business, ranked in the very highest class. When the exposure of affairs took place, not only my father and family were confounded with the result, but the whole country was so. It could be accounted for in no way but from the natural decay of age. My father had lost his memory, and for several years had been the prey of all who had the wickedness to impose upon him. Within a month after this, seeing that I could no longer expect to return to my native country, and keep up the rank which I had from my infancy enjoyed, I resolved on going abroad, and had my intention communicated to Mr. Clark. The fall of my fortune, increased the rancour of the person with whom I was at law. He would consent to no terms of settlement, and I had to remain more than a year fighting out the battle. My lawyers failed to carry my cause before the Assizes. I instantly published an address—had this address put into the hands of most eminent counsel, in London, with a suitable fee, and thus obtained a confession that I was right. I then sued in Chancery, for a new trial, and carried my point, though opposed by five lawyers, who wasted several days in pleading. My cause

was a second time brought before a Jury, and then I was finally victorious, recovering what I pled for with interest, and the costs of three suits. The moment all this was settled, I made arrangements for the conduct of my farming concerns, and came here to look out for future operations; and here I will come, with my family, as soon as all is settled at home, which my friends are now giving their aid to accomplish. Last September, I satisfied Mr. Clark that a fair settlement of my farming concerns would leave me a reversion in capital, of several thousand pounds, after paying my debts. My delayed departure from this country, however, has greatly altered my hopes of this; but, independent of my own personal capital, there is a provision for my wife and children, of £280 per annum, which my fate or conduct cannot affect. So far from being reduced to have my wants here supplied by Mr. Clark's charity, he knows well, that I have yet credit at home, as far as travelling expenses require, and that my bill to him, for £50 received last autumn was duly honored. About two months ago, I wished to draw for a larger sum; not the slightest objection was made to my credit, by Mr. Street, the partner of Mr. Clark; but, as he was not full of cash, he asked me to accept of a temporary supply, and it was agreed to defer drawing on London, until I should require an additional sum. In the township of Dereham, I own 866 acres of land, which belonged to my wife before her marriage with me; but which she has since made over to me; and however trilling this may be as to value, it was a very proper ground upon which to claim attention, in the petition which I sent to York, to be presented by Mr. Clark, to the Parliament then assembled; for, upon coming to the province, I found it greatly depreciated, or rather unsaleable.

That I wish to pocket the dollars subscribed by the people of Canada, for the management of their public interests, is a worthy finish to Mr. Clark's declarations. I advised the people to pay this into the hands of Clerks and Treasurers chosen by themselves; and I expressly stated, that, I would accept of no appointment. That I might receive benefits from the success of the cause, is somewhat encouraging; it may recompense me for the time and money I have spent, and such benefit the public of Canada have certainly no right to grudge; but it is as certain, that private emolument, neither first nor last, has been my spur in what I have done. I never was covetous of

wealth; but I have enjoyed the pleasure of thinking my efforts tended to the happiness of my fellow creatures; and the hope that I may accomplish my purpose, of making this province a safe and honorable retreat for the poor of England, would sustain me through a life time of persecution and scandal.—From the consideration of what is already said, the public will form some comparison between Mr. Clark and me, as to "unwarrantable publications;" but let us get on to complete exposure, before the final decision it given.

It will be remembered, that some weeks ago I mentioned, that since I had addressed Mr. Clark, as a public character, at York, he had taken all in good part, and written me several friendly letters. It was so, and meeting together for the first time, after his return from York, at Mr. Thomas Dickson's, on the 11th of this month, we shook hands before several witnesses. The day preceding, I had heard something of Mr. Clark's doing at York, which I thought too serious to pass without notice, and I had then in my pocket a letter calling upon him for explanation. Our accidental meeting, and shaking hands altered my intentions, as to this, and I committed the letter to the flames, that there should be no retrospect after the right hand of fellowship had been stretched out. On Saturday last, about two o'clock, I had occasion to call at the Printing Office, and found that Mr. Clark had just sent in the manuscript of his placard. Upon looking at it, I was cut to the heart.—I immediately went to Mr. Wm. Kerr, his brother-in-law—told him what I had seen, and begged of him to go with me to the Hon. Wm. Dickson's, where I thought Mr. Clark would be found. Thither we went, but Mr. Clark and Mr. Dickson had gone to a meeting, at Alex. Roger's Hotel, and there we found them on our return. I most earnestly entreated Mr. Clark, on his own account, to withdraw his publication, but in vain: both he and Mr. Dickson were alike immovable; and I found that the placard, which bears only the signature of one, was, in fact, the joint production of these two honorable gentlemen. Mr. Dickson had pruned Mr. Clark's asperities, and had searched out, from his law repository, the notable quotation which now stands before us as a bugbear. To conclude, I told the gentleman, that if they persisted in printing the placard, I should certainly, in return, think myself bound by no delicacy of exposure. Mr. Dickson declared, in that case, he would

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never speak with me more—so the matter is now at issue, and to determine it, I proceed without scruple of dread.

The propriety and fitness of every human action must depend on circumstances. What, in one case would be very wrong, may, in another, be necessary and proper. My publications, for the last two months, have roused the passions of many unreflecting people against me, and many have formed judgments concerning them, altogether erroneous, owing to the partial views taken of the subject. I am not conscious of a word of mine being out of joint. My first address was studiously labored to please; yet we have seen the cohort of Augusta, with a judge, a priest, and a scribe, as leaders, come forward in a formal charge against it; not spurred on by hasty passion, but after the mature cogitation of nearly four months. My second address was of a very different nature. I did not expect that it was to gain at first, universal favor, though it had at least one hearty admirer. After carrying the first part of it to press, I called on the Hon. Wm Dickson, and read the manuscript, as far as it was then composed. Mr. D. was so pleased with it, that he immediately took me aside, and desired my acceptance of a deed for 500 acres of land; which I thanked him for sincerely, but refused.

My after publications, week after week, sprung out of accidents of the moment, and each was called for in its appropriate character and dress. The letter to the Administrator, never would have had existence, but for an accident of my not getting off the week before its appearance, along with the mail carrier, to York; and the publication of Major Leonard, which came forth in the same paper, called for my remaining here still another week. Before this was printed, Mr. Clark's refusal to present my petition, came to hand, and in a few days more, his advice, that I should retreat from my post, by way of Sacket's Harbor. In my letter to the Hon. Thomas Clark, there is a strange mixture of the serious and jocular. The last was clearly to retain him to me as a friend in private life, while I lashed him for the neglect of public duties, and his falling away from a trust, which he had most strongly induced me to repose in him. A refusal to present any petition, decently worded, would be provoking; but had I time to set forth the disappointment I experienced on this occasion, the public would rather wonder how I could joke with Mr. Clark, than blame me for the exposure of trifles, or the

use of any language of severity. My whole mind had been bent, for seven months, on the consideration of the vast advantages which might be gained by a proper improvement of Upper Canada. The object of my first address had been accomplished so far, beyond my utmost expectations; but my experience in the province had convinced me, that I could not honestly use the Township Reports, to draw people abroad, to a country where government was so scandalously administered. No one spoke more openly against abuses, than Mr. Clark; indeed he asked me, one day before going to York, "if it would not justify rebellion?" and Mr. Dickson had, about the same time, declared, at the mess, here, that if matters were not ordered better, *he would rather live under the American than British Government.* Though it was not very decorous for a Legislative Councillor to utter such a speech, before British officers, or any where else, I shall, before all the world, back this sentiment:—certainly, if things are not to be altered for the better, in Canada, the United States would be a more desirable place of residence. Although I am of this opinion, yet I would not, for a moment, allow that Mr. Clark's question, under any circumstances, could be answered in the affirmative, while the right of petitioning remains free to our exercise. Nay, I say more, such a question, even without an answer, stands up against Mr. Clark's appeal to "the tenor of his life;" and manifests that "factious discontent" has "originated in his breast."

If Mr. Clark could put such a question to me, which I solemnly affirm before the Omnipresent God, that he did—if he could put such a question, without even an attempt at reform, through the peaceable exercise of our right of petitioning, what language was "unwarrantable" for me to use, towards him, who denied me the benefit of my constitutional right of petitioning, and who would not present a petition to the Legislature of this province, while it was his hallowed duty to do so—a petition which was to lay the ground work of removing the evils of which he and Mr. Dickson so loudly complained—evils which I looked upon as completely barring every good which was in contemplation, from the success of my statistical labors? What are *their* notions of right and wrong, I am altogether at a loss to discover. If one man only had appeared in this scene of confusion—if one man had been the author of the placard stuck up before us, we might have settled

our minds to rest with a verdict of insanity; but a conspiracy of mad men never, to my knowledge, was before heard of. Silly actions, and shallow reasoning, may be expected from the rabble; but to see such conduct, and such a production, existing in, and emanating from, the united counsel of Councillors, is confounding and marvellous in the extreme.

One part of Mr. Clark's placard has stirred up doubt, I find, in more than himself and fellow placard maker: I mean his quotation of "a radical change of system in the government of Upper Canada." There are some people so nervous—so very sensitive, that reason has nothing to do with their actions and impulses. A worthy Professor of St. Andrew's College, sat one morning in his elbow chair, while his wife reached the tea-kettle to the fire. A drop fell on the Professor's leg. He saw the fire and black bottom of the kettle at one glance. The association of scalding was instantly formed, and the impulse was irresistible; he leaped to the floor in agony, and stormed at his wife for the pain he suffered. When he had sufficiently vented his groans and spleen—"Sit down," said his patient partner in this world's misery, "sit down and bless yourself, my dear; for the water was but this moment drawn from the well."

The word government, may be variously applied:—to the frame of government—the constitution; or, to the mode of carrying on the government—the management—the administration. In Britain, we never think of petitioning for a change of government, in the first sense—a change of constitution. We are all pleased with the constitution; but roar loudly, and petition often against the government, taken in the latter sense—the management—the administration. To petition for a change of government, in Upper Canada, is quite different: here we may safely petition for a change of government, in every sense of the word. The government or constitution of Upper Canada rests merely on the authority of a British act of Parliament; and all that is constituted thereby, is subject to repeal, by the same power which enacted it, as the words of our constitutional statute expressly indicate. The constitution of Upper Canada is to continue only "during the continuance of this act;" and should we petition for a change of government here, we do nothing more than is done every day at home, for a repeal or amendment of an act of the British

Parliament; and though I had not at first contemplated the necessity, I now think it might be very proper to petition for a fresh act, which would free us from such pests as Legislative Councillors, to boot: perhaps, too, we might petition for a throne, instead of a chair.

If either the one hon. gentleman, or the other, had been as well inclined to examine strictly my words, as they are zealous to blacken my character, and prove me to be a fool and a rogue, they might have discovered, that these words did not go to the extent that they in the spirit of illiberality, have imagined. I speak of "a change of system in the government." What is *in* the government; cannot be the government: the wine *in* a bottle, is not the bottle. Through all my writings, it will be found that I spoke of the *system*; and sometimes I identified this system, with that which ruled by "patronage and favoritism." The system of patronage and favoritism, in the government of Upper Canada, I have long considered to be the great bane of prosperity; and without this is put down, all Legislators sent to little York, will come back better for themselves, but bringing with them nothing better for the country. Every one wonders at the influence of Dr. Strachan, a man of no ability; of no experience in the world; but they do not consider the nature of the tools which have been put into his hands. It requires no ear to play a hand-organ, and little strength to drive a horse in a mill; yet the one may give spirit to a dance, and the other may convert wheat into flour. I question if Dr. Strachan has not run some little errand, or done some little favor, for every Honorable, and not Honorable, that ever went up to little York to legislate. Such "small sweet courtesies" cost the Doctor nothing, and are altogether fascinating to Councillors and members of Assembly. On the other hand, mark the Doctor's ire!!! Look at me and tremble, every man who would have a slice of land—look at me and tremble, every man who would desire to get smoothly on, in Upper Canada.

Perhaps the two Councillors who have posted me as a promoter of sedition, are not quite immaculate, even though "factious discontent never originated in their breasts"—perhaps they would rather see the province go to ruin, than lose the game of patronage and favoritism—perhaps "their deeds being evil," they would "love darkness rather than light." It is true, that

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Governor Gore is gone, who made them Honourable, and got for Mr. Clark the monopoly of mill seats, on the rapids of Niagara; but other Governors are coming out, and Sir John Sherbrooke is even in the lower province, now. Since Mr. Dickson has no regard for my character and feelings, let us try how he will stand the touch-stone of truth. It came to my knowledge, by perfect accident, that a member of Assembly was hunting after land, while the public business for which he was paid to go to York, was shamefully neglected. Under existing circumstances, it was a duty to expose what was going on, and to give a hint to the people, of the real cause of their Parliament effecting no good purpose. Mr. Dickson has since told me, that he also was busy petitioning for land, while he was at York. Mr. Dickson having some years ago, been employed as a lawyer, by the Indian department, or otherwise for the Indians on the Grand river, had a tract of land given him, consisting, I believe, of 6,000 acres, by a Council of Indians, called together under the influence of Colonel Claus. Against this transaction, some other Indians protested, and Mr. Dickson's title has hung *in dubio*. While at York, Mr. Dickson had a petition drawn up to the Prince Regent to confirm his title to this land; and to give weight to the petition, Sir John Sherbrooke was to favour Mr. Dickson with his support. Now, I ask the people of this province to pause and reflect on this transaction. The Indian land is their own, by as sacred a title as any in Canada. If Mr. Dickson's claim to the land was fair, why ask the Prince Regent for what is not his? why draw in his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, to go to the fountain of honor for a favor, which cannot in honor be bestowed?—Here I leave this subject to-day, for I wish the people to pause.

Canadians! rouse yourselves! collectively and individually come into action—save the province from ruin—yourselves from insult and disgrace. Let a party in every township, call at every house, and ask aid to the cause of truth; and let the scripture text be repeated to every man—“He that is not for us, is against us.”

Rouse yourselves, Canadians! for villany is in arms against your peace and prosperity:—rouse yourselves! for all that was fought for, in war—all that was hoped for, in peace, is at stake:—rouse yourselves, Canadians! for constitutional right is assailed. One bold and generous effort will yet retrieve

your honor—will retain to you the renown of being honest men, and loyal subjects; for loyalty must not suffer the constitution to be invaded and trod down. Let the Royal motto be our peculiar watch word:—let Canada, from henceforth, bear these words on her shield—“GOD AND OUR RIGHT.”

ROBERT GOURLAY.

St. Catharines, 4th May, 1840.

This day, representatives (and clerks,) chosen by the inhabitants of the several townships of Niagara district, for the purpose of petitioning the Prince Regent, on the general state of public affairs now existing in the province of Upper Canada, met here—

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| Robert Hamilton, Esq., representing the township of Niagara. | |
| Wm. H. Merritt, Esq., J.P. | do. Grantham. |
| John Calk, Esq., J.P. | do. Louth. |
| Dr. Cyrus Sumner. | do. Clinton. |
| Capt. Henry H. Cox, | do. Grimsby. |
| Major Wm. Robertson, | do. Caistor & Can-
[Love]. |
| Mr. John Kennedy, | do. Gainsboro' |
| Mr. John Henderson. | do. Pelham. |
| Geo. Keefer, Esq., J.P., | do. Thorold. |
| Dr. John J. Leftery, | do. Stamford. |
| Jas. Cummings, Esq., J.P., | do. Willoughby. |
| John Baxter, Esq., | do. Bertie. |
| Mr. Joseph Current, | do. Crowland. |
| Mr. Benjamin Horton. | do. Humberstone,
and Lake side
of Wainfleet. |

David Thompson, Esq., do. Wainfleet.

JOHN CLARK, Esq., being unanimously called to the chair, the business of the day commenced, by Mr. Clark's reading over Mr. Gourlay's address to the resident Land-Owners of Upper Canada, dated 2nd April, 1818. The recommendations and principles contained in the address, were declared to be those now generally approved of, and as constituting the basis of the present proceedings. It was then moved and carried, that Mr. Gourlay should be called to the sitting and invited to assist in the business of the day.

GEORGE ADAMS, Esq., J.P., was elected to be *Treasurer* for this district, and being sent for, accepted the office. WILLIAM J. KERR, Esq., was elected *Secretary*; and these gentlemen were desired to retire with *Township Clerks*, to arrange accounts, and commence a regular journal of transactions.

It was then moved, that a draft of a petition, previously prepared, should be read— which being done, its general principles were approved of, and it was agreed further, that consideration, as to its style, &c., be referred to a committee of four.

Moved, and unanimously carried, That as soon as the committee are sufficiently satisfied with the wording of the Petition, they order it to be printed, with a view to its lying before the public one month, and affording opportunity for animadversion or amendment, that finally it may be so drawn out as to give the greatest possible degree of satisfaction to the people of this district.

Moved, and unanimously carried, That the same committee do immediately publish, throughout the province, the whole proceedings of the people of this district of Niagara, up to this time; and take all necessary steps towards promoting the objects in view.

Moved, and unanimously carried, That the gentlemen of the committee advertise, Saturday, 6th June, at 2 o'clock, afternoon, as a proper time for the people of other districts to hold township meetings throughout the province, at all places where township meetings are usually held: That Saturday, the 13th of the same month, be advertised for the meetings of township representatives, at the head town of their respective districts—there to choose district representatives, to assemble in the Provincial Convention.

Moved, and unanimously carried, That Monday, 6th July next, be advertised as the day of meeting at York, of the Provincial Convention—there to appoint a Commission to proceed to England, with the petitions to the Prince Regent, and hold conference generally, on all matters then requiring attention.

Moved, and unanimously carried, That it is proper for each district to send to the Provincial Convention, representatives in like number and proportion as they send members to Parliament.

Moved, and unanimously carried, That it be recommended, that the district representatives for the Western, London, Gore and Niagara districts, do meet together, at Ancaster, on Friday, 3d July—there to tarry one or two days to consult and order, with regard to any thing in these districts that may then be discovered to be neglected. Also, that the district representatives for Ottawa, the Eastern, Johnstown and Midland districts, do meet for the like purpose, on Wednesday the first of July, at Earnestown.

The meeting proceeded to choose representatives for Niagara district—when ROBT. HAMILTON, Esq., Doct. CYRUS SUMNER, JOHN CLARK, Esq., J. P., and Maj. WM. ROBERTSON, were duly elected. It was

then moved and carried, that these gentlemen constitute the committee above mentioned.

One of the representatives requesting to be allowed to read a paper to the meeting, the request was granted. The paper regarded certain partial proceedings in Courts of Justice, and attributed the same to the present corrupt state of public affairs. The gentleman wished the meeting to take the same into consideration; but the proposal was lost—this being declared not a meeting of deliberation, as to private or particular grievances—but for the pure purpose of petitioning the Prince Regent generally, as to the state of the province. It was admitted that this, or other papers respecting public grievances, might be given to district representatives, sealed up, and directed to be put into the hands of the Commissioners, that they may make what use they pleased of the same, for the general good of the province.

Moved, and unanimously agreed, That the thanks of the meeting be given to John Clark, Esq., for his impartial conduct in the chair.

The meeting then adjourned till Monday, 8th June, at St. Catharines, when the Petition will be finally adopted, and measures taken for its signature, in the several townships of this district.

JOHN CLARK, *Chairman.*

WM. J. KERR, *Secretary.*

Draft of an Address, proposed for presentation to the Prince Regent—submitted to the consideration of the people of Upper Canada, for animadversion and amendment.

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, GEORGE, PRINCE OF WALES, REGENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, &c., &c., &c.

The humble Address of Inhabitants of Upper Canada:

May it please your Royal Highness—

The subjects of your Royal father, dwelling in Upper Canada, should need no words to give assurance of their loyalty, if the whole truth had reached the Throne of their Sovereign. His loving subjects have reason to believe, that the truth has not been told.

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During three years of war, Upper Canada was exposed to the ravages of a powerful and inveterate foe. The Government of the United States had long been concerting the invasion of this province: hostile preparations against it, had been long masked under other designs, and at last the accumulated torrent of violence burst on the defenceless children of the British empire. Nor were they assailed by the weapons of war alone. An insidious proclamation preceded the host of the enemy—forgetful of honour—regardless of humanity; and, daring to seduce the subjects of Britain from their true allegiance. The subjects of Britain remained dauntless and firm. It was not for property that they rose against the invader: the invader would have spared to them their property. They flew to arms in defence of the rights and sovereignty of Britain. Twice had the American standard been planted in Upper Canada, while yet but a handful of British troops aided the native battalions of the province:—twice did these raw battalions wave the laurel of victory over the prostrate intruders on their soil. The second year of war saw Canada contending with yet little assistance from the parent state: the second year of war saw her sons confirmed in their virtue, and still more determined to resist. Wives and children had fled from their homes; the face of the country was laid waste, and the fire of revenge was sent forth to consummate distress and misery,—still was the spirit of the people unextinguished—still did it burn with patriotism and loyalty.

By the third year, every risk of conquest was at an end; for now the British aids poured into the provinces; and peace was proclaimed, when war was no longer to be feared.

It is now more than three years since there was an end of war; but strange to say, these years of peace have manifested no appearance of affection or care from the mother country to the Canadas. Commercial treaties have been made, altogether

neglectful of British interests, here: Government transactions, which used to give spirit to trade and industry, are at a stand; troops are withdrawn: fortifications are suffered to go to ruin; and rumours are abroad too shocking to be repeated in the Royal ear.

May it please your Royal Highness to listen calmly to the complaints and grievances of the people of Upper Canada, who are fully assured that your Royal Highness has been kept ignorant of most important truths—who are well assured of the generous disposition of your Royal heart; and of your desire, that British subjects should, every where, share equally your paternal regard and affection.

It was matter of much provocation to the people of this province, to see, even during the war, which afforded such striking proofs of their loyalty and valour, reports sent home, highly rating the merit of regular troops, while the tribute due to Canadian levies, was unfairly let down. Nay, the principles of the most loyal subjects here, were often stigmatized by British officers, ignorant of human character, and still more so of circumstances which affect it, in this part of the world. It was not so with the immortal Brock. He justly appreciated Canadian worth; and his memory will happily long cherish, in the minds of the Canadian people, a due regard for the genuine spirit of a British soldier, at once generous and brave.

The loyal inhabitants of Upper Canada would disdain to notice the misrepresentations of individuals, so contrary to notorious truth, if these had not obviously conspired, with other causes, to lessen the regard which should subsist between British subjects, here and at home—to influence the conduct of Ministers towards the general interest of the province.

The loyal subjects of his Majesty in Upper Canada, suffered grievously, during the war, in their property, and many were bereft of their all. A solemn investigation, on

this subject took place: the claims of sufferers were authenticated; and there was every reason to expect that recompence would immediately follow: yet nothing has followed, but delay and insult. Surely, if there is among mankind a single principle of justice, this is one, that the individuals of a nation ought not, partially, to bear the weight of public calamity—surely, individuals who have exposed their lives for Government, should not be disgusted with finding Government regardless of those very principles which it is intended to sustain. The people of this province are well aware, that their fellow subjects at home are pressed hard with taxation; and far is it from their wish that relief should be afforded from thence. Canada contains, within itself, ample means of exonerating Government from the claims of sufferers by war; and it is within the *stat* of your Royal Highness to remove, by a single breath, the evil now so justly complained of. Millions of acres of fertile land lie, here, at the disposal of your Royal Highness—upon the credit of which, put under proper management, not only the fair claims of loyal sufferers could be instantly advanced, but vast sums could be raised for the improvement of the provinces, and the increase of revenue to Britain.

Another grievance, manifesting the neglect of Government to the concerns of Upper Canada, is equally notorious, and must be still more abhorrent to the generous feelings of your Royal Highness.

The young men of this province, who were armed in its defence, had, for their spirited conduct, the promise of their Commanders, that land would be granted them, as reward for their services, as soon as war was terminated; and after this promise was universally confided in, the Parliament of Upper Canada passed an extraordinary law in the face of established British principles, that the militia should pass beyond the frontier. With these promises, and in obedience to the law, the militia passed beyond the frontier with alacrity; yet, since the peace,

the greater part of them have been denied the pledge of their extraordinary services, and the land is unjustly withheld.

Such ingratitude—such dishonor—such errors in policy, your Royal Highness may be well assured, could not exist without extraordinary influences: and, were your Royal Highness sufficiently informed as to these, and of the true state of Upper Canada, we flatter ourselves most important changes would speedily take place, as well for the glory of the Throne, as for the benefit of its subjects.

Permit the loyal subjects of his Majesty merely to say as much, at the present time, on this subject, as may induce your Royal Highness to order inquiry to be made.

The lands of the Crown in Upper Canada, are of immense extent, not only stretching far and wide into the wilderness, but scattered over the province, and intermixed with private property, already cultivated. The disposal of this land is left to Ministers at home, who are palpably ignorant of existing circumstances, and to a Council of men resident in the province, who, it is believed, have long converted the trust reposed in them to purposes of selfishness. The scandalous abuses, in this department, came some years ago to such a pitch of monstrous magnitude, that the home Ministers wisely imposed restrictions on the land Council of Upper Canada. These, however, have by no means removed the evil; and a system of patronage and favoritism, in the disposal of the Crown lands, still exists, altogether destructive of moral rectitude and virtuous feeling, in the management of public affairs. Corruption, indeed, has reached such a height in this province, that it is thought no other part of the British empire witnesses the like; and it is vain to look for improvement till a radical change is effected. It matters not what characters fill situations of public trust, at present:—all sink beneath the dignity of men—become vitiated and weak, as soon as they are placed within the vortex of destruction. Confusion on confusion has grown

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out of this unhappy system; and the very lands of the Crown, the giving away of which, has created such mischief and iniquity, have ultimately come to little value from abuse. The poor subjects of his Majesty, driven from home by distress, to whom portions of land are granted, can now find in the grant no benefit; and loyalists of the United Empire—the descendants of those who sacrificed their all, in America, in behalf of British rule—men whose names were ordered on record, for their virtuous adherence to your Royal father—the descendants of these men, find, now, no favour in their destined rewards: nay, these rewards, when granted, have, in many cases, been rendered worse than nothing; for the legal rights in the enjoyment of them have been held at naught: their land has been rendered unsaleable, and, in some cases, only a source of distraction and care.

Under this system of internal management, and weakened from other evil influences, Upper Canada now pines in comparative decay: discontent and poverty are experienced in a land supremely blessed with the gifts of nature: dread of arbitrary power wars here, against the free exercise of reason and manly sentiment: laws have been set aside: legislators have come into derision;

and contempt from the mother country seems fast gathering strength to disunite the people of Canada for their friends at home.

The immediate interference of your Royal Highness, might do much to check existing evils; and might wholly remove those which spring from the system of patronage and favouritism, in the land granting department. Other evils, however, greatly retard the prosperity of Upper Canada—evils which have their root in the original constitution of the province, and these can only be removed by the interference of the British Parliament, now most imperiously required.

Deeply penetrated with these sentiments, and most seriously inclined to have such needful changes speedily effected, the loyal subjects of Britain, dwelling in Upper Canada, now take the extraordinary step of sending home Commissioners to bear this to the Throne, and humbly entreat your Royal Highness to give ear to the details which it will be in their power to relate: above all, that your Royal Highness would, immediately, send out to this province a COMMISSION, consisting of discreet and wise men—men of business and talent, who shall be above every influence here, and who may be instructed to make inquiry into all the sources of evil.

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MEETING OF THE UPPER CANADIAN CONVENTION OF FRIENDS 'TO INQUIRY.

York, Monday, July 6th, 1818.

This day a Convention, consisting of persons chosen according to the rules prescribed in the pamphlet, entitled, "*Principles and Proceedings of the Inhabitants of the District of Niagara, for addressing his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, &c.*," met here.

PRESENT :

FOR THE District of Niagara,	ROBERT HAMILTON, Esq. JOHN CLARK, Esq., J.P. DR. CYRUS SUMNER. (Major WILLIAM ROBERTSON, reported absent from sickness.)
District of Gore,	RICHD. BEASLEY, Esq. J.P.
London District,	MR. WM. CRISHOLM.
Western Do.,	MR. CALVIN MARTIN. MR. RODERICK DRAKE.
Midland Do.,	DANL. WASHBURN, Esq., MR. DAVIS HAWLEY, MR. PAUL PETERSON, MR. JACOB W. MYERS, THOMAS COLEMAN, Esq.
District of Newcastle,	MR. ROBT. J. KERR.
Johnstown District,	MR. NATHAN HICOK.
Ottawa do.
Home do.

It being proposed, that these gentlemen should each give satisfactory evidence, by reference to printed and written documents, or on their word of honor, that they had been duly appointed to represent people of the respective districts, (and the same being complied with,) the meeting was regularly constituted, by calling RICHARD BEASLEY, Esq., J. P., to the Chair.

Mr. Beasley opened the business in a neat speech, wherein he deprecated the false and malicious insinuations and assertions thrown out before the public, as to the views and intentions of those who joined in the present business. It was only necessary, he said, to look to the faces now present, to have refuted every possible thought of evil intention:

William J. Kerr, Esq., J.P., was named, and chosen Secretary for this Convention, and Daniel Washburn, Esq., Assistant Secretary.

It was then moved and carried, that Mr. Gourlay be admitted to assist in the deliberations of the present occasion—to speak, but not to vote. Mr. Gourlay hereupon

came forward, and addressing himself to the chair, expressed his great satisfaction at seeing the measures which he had had the happiness to suggest to the public of Upper Canada, so far matured, at the meeting of this Convention. He said that these measures would have had the most complete success, but for unforeseen and unexpected influences: that it was obvious, from the beginning, that many men, accustomed to draw profit from corruption, or enjoyment from the exercise of arbitrary power, would oppose measures tending to refresh the body-politic, and restrain the licentiousness of ill-regulated authority; but it could not have been supposed, that there would have appeared men so base as to injure a good and great public cause, from mere wanton malevolence, or to gratify private pique and revenge; far less, that any of those men who represented the people in Parliament, would take arms against measures, not only pure, but having in view the very ends which the Assembly had repeatedly strove to attain. That such had been the case, was, however, unfortunately too true; and the machinations of such parties had held back that frank and confiding support to the cause, which certainly would have prevailed throughout, from the unbiassed feelings of the people. Mr. G. said, that, from his knowledge of the public mind, there was only required a little time to get over every difficulty raised by lying reports and evil influences—that he had positive information, that even already, many people who had been at first staggered under ignorance of the truth, and the novelty of proposed measures, were fast adopting more liberal sentiments, and heartily wishing us well, though they had lost the opportunity of choosing representatives to speak for them on this occasion: that it would be of infinite consequence to give time for reflection; and, as there was but one great interest in the country, so there might be the most harmonious effort possible made to promote it. Under circumstances, then, he would propose a change of measures: he would propose, instead of sending home a Commission directly, to his Royal Highness the

Prince Regent, that a Deputation should wait on the Governor as soon as arrived, or should proceed to meet him at Quebec: that this Deputation should present two petitions—one to the Prince, with a request, that he, (the Governor,) should immediately send home the same to be presented at the first levee: that another petition should be presented to himself, praying that he would immediately dissolve the present Parliament, and issue writs for a new election—that he would meet the new Parliament with all possible dispatch, and recommend, as its first great object, (after getting the annual supply voted,) to proceed to an inquiry into the state of the province, and have a Commission appointed to go home with the result, in time to have the same laid before the Imperial Parliament, in the early part of the next session. Mr. G. said that, in his address of the 2nd of April, he had asserted that there was little to be expected from *change* of representatives or Governors. He would now qualify that assertion. The appointment of the Duke of Richmond to be Governor-in-Chief of the Canadas, was a suspicious event. The Duke of Richmond was a rare character—one who had proved that Royalty itself could not make him stoop to indignity, and one who had nobly supported the rights of the people of England. He had long ago maintained, that every man who paid taxes should have a vote in Parliamentary election, and his opinion had been proudly quoted by the lovers of rational reform, upon every occasion since. In this country we had the fullest privileges as to the choice of representatives—the fullest security that taxation never could be made oppressive to the community. We had nothing to expect from the Duke of Richmond as to this; but his former conduct and declared opinions were quite cheering to our hopes, of his heartily joining in every effort for the public good; and Sir Peregrine Maitland, with such an example, and with such an adviser, we might be well assured, will be forward in performing honorably and well, the high and important duties entrusted to him. As to a change of representatives, there was, at this time, considerable hope. Men's minds were now roused to the full importance of having respectable characters in Assembly: they had seen the evil consequences from too much indifference as to this; and, in fact, the Parliamentary character had fallen so low, that respectable men had, for years, declined coming for-

ward as candidates. Now, he was convinced that men of solid worth and judgment would offer themselves, and that while all were alive to public interests, every voter would seriously think of the character he supported. There were now in Assembly, several men quite a disgrace to their situation. These men, he thought, would certainly not now be returned; and such as were still in favor with their constituents, from uprightness of intention, (and there was a considerable proportion that he believed to be worthy, honest men, such as perhaps could not be excelled,) that he was sure these men would resume their duties, with increased energy and determination, to recover to the country that character and credit, which their remissness had unhappily tended to degrade and dissipate."

These measures requiring time for reflection, it was moved by Mr. Washburn, and carried, that this meeting do adjourn till tomorrow, at 9 o'clock.

21st July, 1818.

Which day, the permanent Committee of management being met, at Ancaster, present, Richard Beasley, Wm. Kerr, Wm. Chisholm, John Clark, George Hamilton, and Roderick Drake, Esqrs.

Resolved, That they would best discharge the duties expected of them, by adopting the following address, and appending to it those of the Niagara and Midland districts.

To His Royal Highness, George, Prince of Wales, Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c., &c.

The humble address of RICHARD BEASLEY, Esq., Chairman of the UPPER CANADIAN CONVENTION OF FRIENDS TO ENQUIRY:

May it please Your Royal Highness—

In the name of thousands of the inhabitants of Upper Canada, it is my province to testify the dutiful and affectionate regard which they bear to your Royal person and

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dignity; and, in the utmost sincerity, I may declare my confident belief, that the Royal Sceptre is not awayed over more loyal subjects than those who dwell in this distant colony.

Under peculiar circumstances of difficulty, disappointment and distress, these loyal subjects had resolved on sending home a Commission to England, humbly to entreat, before the Throne of their Sovereign, the immediate interference of the Royal authority. The loyal subjects, on farther reflection, have determined on a change of measures, or, at least, to delay the execution of what was at first proposed. Deeply impressed, however, with the vast importance of the subject, as well to themselves as to the general interests of the British empire, they have deemed it proper that their intentions should be made known to your Royal Highness; and, with this view, I am desired to annex to this address, drafts of two others, which were in preparation; and which had so far received the approbation of inhabitants of the two most populous districts of this province.

Should your Royal Highness condescend to peruse these documents, they will be found to contain strong assertions; but when investigation takes place, these assertions can be proved to be no less true than they are strong.

It is now the desire of the loyal subjects, on whose behalf I address your Royal Highness, that the Parliament of Upper Canada should be called together for the more special purpose of making inquiry into the state of this province, and for having a Commission appointed to go home with the result, in such time as the same may be laid before the Imperial Parliament, at an early period of its next ensuing session. Should such desire be gratified, this most necessary inquiry will commence in the manner most creditable to the Legislative authorities of the province, and will afford the fullest satisfaction to those whom I represent. Lest it should not be so determined, I am de-

sired by my constituents, most humbly to entreat that your Royal Highness will keep in view the great objects set forth in the annexed drafts; and, in the event of a Commission approaching the Throne from the body of His Majesty's loyal subjects in Upper Canada, that the Royal ear may be turned towards them with such love and confidence as may be expected, by a people who have shed their blood, and sacrificed every worldly comfort, in the cause of British sovereignty.

Entreating your Royal Highness graciously to accept every consideration of regard which is due, by subjects to the Son and Representative of their sovereign.

I have the high honor to subscribe, this first day of August, in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighteen.

For myself and others.

The Committee, on consulting with regard to the address to Sir Peregrine Maitland, found that the language may be altered to advantage, and resolved to meet at St. Catharines, on Saturday, 1st August, that both this and the former may be engrossed and signed.

The Committee further resolved that an *Appendix* should be added to the publication of the transactions of the General Convention, containing the minutes of the Committee, and of this Branch Convention, the Midland district address, minutes of district meetings, with the names of all officers chosen at township meetings, that have not before been published.

For the Committee,

WM. J. KERR.

St. Catharines, 1st August, 1818.

This day the permanent Committee having met, at this place, present, Richard

Beasley, George Hamilton, Roderick Drake, Wm. Kerr, and John Clark, Esquires, the petition to Sir Peregrine Maitland being reviewed and altered, the same was engrossed and signed by Mr. Beasley. The petition to the Prince Regent was also engrossed, signed, and ordered to be transmitted to England, for presentation.

It was then proposed and agreed to that Mr. Beasley should write to the Right

Hon. Lord Erakine, requesting the favor of his Lordship to present the petition to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent; also, that Mr. Beasley's letter, and all transactions up to this time, be published, in conformity with the principles of the friends to enquiry.

WM. KERR,
Secretary.

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ARREST AND TRIAL OF MR. GOURLAY,

Extracted from Report of the Trial, printed in a pamphlet at Kingston, immediately after his acquittal.

WARRANT.

THE KING v. ROBERT GOURLAY.
UPPER CANADA.

MIDLAND } TO ROBERT YOUNG, High
DISTRICT, } Constable, or to any other
Constable in the town of Kingston, GREET-
ING: WHEREAS, information and complaint
hath been made before me, (Thomas Mark-
land, Esquire, one of his Majesty's Justices
of the Peace, in and for the said district,)
on oath, that Robert Gourlay, late of King-
ston, in the said district, gentleman, at King-
ston, in the said district, on or about the
first day of June instant, unlawfully, mali-
ciously and wickedly, did publish and utter
a false, wicked and seditious libel, styled,
"Principles and Proceedings of the Inhabi-
tants of the District of Niagara, for ad-
dressing his Royal Highness the Prince Re-
gent, respecting the claims of sufferers in
war, lands to militia men, and the general
benefit of Upper Canada; printed at the
Niagara Spectator office, 1818; price,
one shilling, Halifax," intending thereby,
the peace and common tranquility of our
Lord the King, and this his province of
Upper Canada, to disquiet, molest and dis-
turb, and to bring the Government of our
said Lord the King, in this his province,
into great hatred, contempt and scandal,
with all his faithful and liege subjects of the
said province.

These are, therefore, to charge and com-
mand you to apprehend and arrest the said
Robert Gourlay, if he shall be found with-
in your bailwick, and bring him before
me, or some other of his Majesty's Justices
of the Peace, to be dealt with as the law
directs.

Given under my hand and seal, this ele-
venth day of June, one thousand eight hun-
dred and eighteen, at Kingston, in the Mid-
land district.

(Signed),

THO'S MARKLAND, J.P. (L.S.)

I do hereby certify that the above is a
true copy of the original warrant.

(Signed) ROBERT YOUNG,

High Constable.

JURORS EMPANELLED ON THE TRIAL.

OLIVER THIBODO, *Foreman*,
SAMUEL MERRILL,
THOMAS SMITH,
JAMES MEAGHER,
LOOMIS NORTON,
JAMES MCGEE,
ELIJAH TENNY,
ALEXANDER WATSON,
JOSEPH RANSIER,
JOHN DOWLING,
ANDREW DENIKE,
GEORGE OLIVER.

Extracted from the Kingston Gazette, Aug. 18, 1818.

MR. GOURLAY'S TRIAL.

On Saturday the 15th inst., the case of the
King v. Robert Gourlay, for publishing a
seditious Libel, was tried before the Court of
Assizes, now sitting in this town. The
publication charged as libellous, was the
Niagara petition to the Prince Regent. It
being a cause of great expectation, the
Court-House was thronged beyond what
was ever known on any former occasion.
The Solicitor General opened the prosecu-
tion, and produced Stephen Miles, printer,
as a witness, to prove the publication of the
pamphlet, which not being precisely proved,
was admitted, by the defendant. Mr.
Gourlay entered into a very full defence,
which, we understand, will probably be pub-
lished. He called John Clark, Esq., of
Niagara, to prove his character and conduct,
in that district, and that the petition charg-
ed to be a libel, although written by the
defendant, was examined, approved and pub-
lished, by a committee of the representa-
tives of that district, with their names an-
nexed to the publication. The defendant
also called James Wilkie, Esq., Ordnance
store-keeper, of Kingston, who testified that,
from his earliest years, he had been well
acquainted with Mr. Gourlay; having been
brought up in the same neighborhood, and
served under his command, as a command-
ant of volunteers, in Fifeshire; also, that

Mr. Gourlay's character, in his native country, was fair and irreproachable, and his family and connexions of the first respectability. The Solicitor General replied, at great length. Judge Campbell, who had exercised much patience and candor during the arguments, delivered a learned and able charge to the Jury, who withdrew, and in about half-an-hour returned into Court, with a verdict of *NOT GUILTY*. As soon as the verdict was delivered, an instantaneous and general burst of applause, which continued for some minutes, marked the state of the public feeling on this interesting subject.

Thus the verdict of a Jury, after a full and fair discussion in Court, has established the right of uniting in a petition to the Prince Regent, and using the requisite means of forming such union; and has refuted the most extraordinary charge, that a large proportion of the loyal inhabitants of this province have been guilty of a seditious libel, by the circulating and adopting the petition in question.

On Monday the 17th inst., a number of gentlemen gave Mr. Gourlay a dinner, at Moore's Coffee House. At seven o'clock, the company, consisting of between 30 and 40, sat down to a table furnished in Mr. Moore's best style. Mr. T. Dalton presided, assisted by Mr. S. Johns, as Vice President. After the cloth was removed, Mr. Dalton addressed himself to the company nearly in these words:—

"GENTLEMEN, FELLOW COUNTRYMEN! —It is peculiarly gratifying to me, (as I am sure it is to every one present,) to witness the universal joy that has been diffused, by the firmness and integrity of a Canadian Jury, in protecting from the rude hand of spoilers, the best, the dearest, the hallowed right of every British subject: it is a sure pledge, that English liberty will be perpetuated in Upper Canada. We are met to express to each other, in social harmony, our unbounded satisfaction at the happy escape of Mr. Gourlay, from the merciless fangs of low-minded pride, bolstered and propped by a "little brief authority." This event is of such immense importance to every man in the country, who has any, the least, regard for the inestimable blessings of our glorious constitution, that it would indeed be wonderful did not your hearts this day overflow with mirth and hilarity."

The following toasts were given from the Chair, and drank with shouts of applause. Between each toast, an appropriate song

was called for, and sung with true patriotic feeling, and mirthful glee.

THE KING!

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent —May his ears be opened to the petitions of his loyal subjects, and his hands ready to redress their wrongs!

The Duke of Richmond, whose character in England and Ireland, affords a happy presage of his government in this country!

His Excellency Sir Peregrine Maitland, Lieutenant Governor of this province —May his administration justify the high expectations formed of it, by promoting an inquiry into the state of the province!

The constitutional right of petitioning —Disappointment and disgrace to those who would stifle it, by criminal prosecutions!

Robert Gourlay! whose honorable acquittal we commemorate—May his slanderers, assailants and prosecutors blush for their abuse of him!

Mr. Gourlay rose and addressed the company as follows:—

"GENTLEMEN—I am a poor public speaker, yet, were I really a good one, no language could express my feelings on this occasion. As it concerns myself, individually, I sincerely thank you for the honor done me: no traveller, 'pelted by the pitiless storm,' could ever have half the satisfaction from welcome to a hospitable retreat, as I now experience in your company; but, gentlemen, when I consider that, with my deliverance, is connected that of the freedom of this country, and the most valuable public right of British subjects, I am most truly proud of this occasion—I sympathize with you, as fellow subjects—I rejoice with you as men; and all personal suffering and abuse sinks into nothing:—under such circumstances, charity to my enemies becomes an easy virtue.

"Gentlemen—whatever may have been thought or whatever may have been said, I declare upon my honor, that no expression ever dropped from my pen tainted with malice; and in no instance have I been the first to attack. An enthusiastic regard for the cause which I espoused, while I was conscious of the best intentions, and had my eye fixed on the mighty good which might result, has often made me severe with those who opposed it—perhaps unprudently severe; for it is often the best policy to answer mean and base reflections, with silence and contempt. Gentlemen—I confess to you, that in one or two instances I have erred; but error is human. Now, that the great ob-

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jects in view are so well established, I shall be most happy to have done with petty warfare and party bickering : as soon as the ends of justice and the law are sufficiently satisfied, I shall be most ready and willing to exchange forgiveness with my enemies, in every quarter."

The Integrity of Judges, and the Independence of Juries, equally entitled to respect!

The Liberty of the Press, the safeguard of civil liberty!

Impartiality, the first duty of a Magistrate—Reformation or removal from office, to those who sacrifice it, to personal or party feelings!

Our worthy visitors from other districts!

The following volunteers were given, from various parts of the table:—

A straight jacket, instead of a silk gown, for the advocate of the new doctrine, that the inhabitants of this province may unite in a general petition, but must not publicly propose or communicate a petition to each

other, for the purpose of forming such union, on pain of prosecution for it as a libel, whether true or false!

May the rights and privileges of a virtuous people ever be supported!

May those who have taken an active part in the measures adopted by the friends to enquiry, never regret what they have done!

The finger of scorn, pointed at those who, for want of rational arguments, attack their opponents in the streets, with clubs and whips, and lists, and teeth, and nails!

The immortal Wellington, the glory of Great Britain, the pride of Ireland, and the admiration of the world!

May the matter contained in the pamphlet denounced as noxious, by the Solicitor General, prove an antidote to corruption!

The evening was spent in social hilarity; and before the company separated, this sentiment was drank: "Happy to meet, happy to part, and happy to meet again."

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PARLIAMENT OF UPPER CANADA.

Extracted from newspapers of the day.

Monday, 12th Oct., 1818.

At 2 o'clock this day, his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor proceeded in state, from the garrison to the Legislative Council chamber, where, being seated on the throne, his Excellency directed the Gentlemen Usher of the Black Rod, to demand the attendance of the House of Assembly, when his Excellency was pleased to open the session with the following

SPEECH:

Honorable Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly:

The total want of funds to meet the exigencies of the state, has compelled me to call you together earlier than the usual period; but I hope it is at a season which interferes little with your convenience.

I have to announce to you, that no alteration has taken place in the indisposition of our venerable Sovereign.

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent receives from Foreign Powers, the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition to the British empire, and of their earnest desire to preserve the general tranquility.

The prospect of continued peace, is peculiarly auspicious to this country: your undivided attention will be given to its interests; you will inquire into its wants, and find remedies for its embarrassments.

In the course of your investigation you will, I doubt not, feel a just indignation at the attempts which have been made to excite discontent, and to organize sedition. Should it appear to you, that a Convention of delegates cannot exist without danger to the Constitution, in framing a law of prevention, your dispassionate wisdom will be careful that it shall not unwarily trespass on that sacred right of the subject, to seek a redress of his grievances by petition.

A treaty is on foot with our Indian neighbors, for the purchase of new territory, including certain tracts, which serve by their intervention, to disconnect our western settlements.

It appears to me that no object can be of more intrinsic value to this colony, than

an increased population; nor any, on the acquirement of which, a small expenditure of revenue is likely to present the state with a greater return. Whether it would not be advisable to tender assistance in some effectual manner, to those poor emigrants who may seek to become your countrymen, is a subject I recommend to your serious consideration.

Your attention will be directed to certain laws which are expiring, and to others which have expired, that you may decide on the propriety of continuing the one, or reviving the other. To carry any laws which you may enact, for the comfort, safety or morality of the subject, or for the general benefit of the province, into full effect, you may depend on my hearty co-operation.

Gentlemen of the House of Assembly:

I shall direct the proper officer to lay before you, the accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the provincial revenue, with an estimate of what may be required for the support of the civil Government.

Honorable Gentlemen and Gentlemen:

Convened as you now are for the great purpose of elevating your country by the wisdom of your councils, you feel each of you impressed with the responsibility and dignity which invests you; you recollect the celebrity of your proceedings; these considerations, enlightened manners, and the beneficent influence of religion, will no doubt regulate the intercourse between your august assemblies.

The following address of the Hon. the Legislative Council, was presented to his Excellency the Lieut. Governor, on Wednesday the 14th instant.

To his Excellency Sir Peregrine Maitland, Knight Commander of the most honorable Military Order of the Bath, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, and Major-General commanding his Majesty's forces therein, &c. &c. &c.

MAY IT

We, the undersigned, beg leave to present the following

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It is with great pleasure in compliance with the Sovereign's commands

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MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY :

We, his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Legislative Council of Upper Canada, in Provincial Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our thanks for your Speech, at the opening of this session of the Legislature.

We are happy to embrace this opportunity of congratulating your Excellency on your safe arrival to assume the duties of your exalted station amongst us.

It is with regret that we learn from your Excellency, that no alteration has taken place in the indisposition of our venerable Sovereign.

The strong assurances which his Royal Highness the Prince Regent has received, from Foreign Powers, of their friendly disposition to the British empire, and of their earnest desire to preserve the general tranquility, affords us the highest satisfaction; convinced, with your Excellency, that a continuance of peace will be peculiarly auspicious to this province, to the interests of which we will bestow our utmost attention. We will inquire into its wants, and endeavor to find out remedies for its embarrassments.

We shall at all times feel a just indignation at every attempt which may excite discontent or organize sedition; and if it shall appear to us that a convention of delegates cannot exist, without danger to the Constitution, in framing a law of prevention, we will be careful that it shall not unwarily trespass on the sacred right of the subject, to seek, by petition, a redress of his grievances.

It affords us pleasure to learn, that there is a treaty on foot with our Indian neighbors, for the purchase of new territory, including certain tracts which serve by their intervention, to disconnect the western settlements of this province.

We are persuaded that no object can be of more intrinsic value to this colony, than an increased population; and we will be ready to co-operate in such measures as may render assistance to the necessitous emigrants, who may seek to become settlers of this province.

We will attend carefully to the laws which are expiring, and to such as have expired.

We thankfully receive your Excellency's offer of co-operation, to carry into full effect the laws which may be enacted for the comfort, safety or morality of the subject, or for the general benefit of the province.

To which his Excellency was pleased to reply :

Honorable Gentlemen of the Legislative Council :

I am much gratified by the sentiments you have been pleased to express: accept my thanks for your address.

On Monday the 19th inst., a committee of the House of Assembly presented the following address to his Excellency :

To his Excellency Sir Peregrine Maitland, Knight Commander of the Most Honorable Military Order of the Bath, Lieut. Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, and Major General commanding his Majesty's forces therein, &c. &c. &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

We, his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons House of Assembly, in Provincial Parliament assembled, beg to offer to your Excellency our sincere congratulations on your accession to the government of this Province, and to return thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne, at the opening of the present session.

While we regret to learn that no favorable change has taken place in the health of our beloved Sovereign, we view with much satisfaction the happy prospect of continued peace and prosperity to his Majesty's subjects, in the assurance of the friendly dispositions of Foreign Powers, received by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. We feel that to no portion of his Majesty's subjects can this prospect be more auspicious, than to this infant colony; and our most anxious wish is to co-operate with your Excellency in improving this period of tranquility, by every measure that may tend to relieve the province from any temporary embarrassment, and to advance its general prosperity.

We feel a just indignation at the systematic attempts that have been made to excite discontent, and organize sedition in this happy colony, while the usual and constitutional mode of appeal, for real or supposed grievances, has ever been open to the people of this province, never refused or even appealed to; and deeply lament that the insidious designs of one factious individual, should have succeeded in drawing into the support of his vile machinations, so many honest men and loyal subjects to his Majesty. We remember, that this favored land was assigned to our fathers, as a retreat for suffering loyalty,

and not a sanctuary for sedition. In the course of our investigation, should it appear to this House, that a Convention of delegates cannot exist without danger to the constitution, in framing a law of prevention, we will carefully distinguish between such Conventions and the lawful act of the subject in petitioning for a redress of real or imaginary grievances—that sacred right of every British subject, which we will ever hold inviolable.

We perceive, in your Excellency's communication of the proposed purchase of new territory from the Indians, so important, and indeed so necessary, to the growth of our western settlements, a flattering pledge of your Excellency's sincere desire to benefit the province; and will give our best consideration to your Excellency's recommendation, that some effectual assistance shall, if possible, be extended to those poor emigrants who seek to become our countrymen.

The laws that have expired, or are about to expire, shall receive our attention; and in reviving or continuing such of them as may

be required, or devising new measures for the public good, we feel happy in relying upon your Excellency's assurance of hearty co-operation.

The investigation of the public accounts, when submitted to us, and the provisions for the support of the civil Government, for the current year, will necessarily engage our cares; and impressed with a proper sense of the responsibility of our duties, and how important it is that we should faithfully discharge them, we trust we shall be actuated in all our deliberations, by a spirit most likely to lead to a happy result.

When his Excellency was pleased to make the following reply:

Gentlemen of the House of Assembly:

I am much gratified by the sentiments you have been pleased to express, and I doubt not your wisdom will give them efficacy in the enactment of salutary laws.



REPORT OF DEPUTATION.

TO THE FRIENDS OF INQUIRY.

York, 24th October, 1818.

GENTLEMEN—Having been honored with your appointment, as members of a committee, with others, to alter the wording and style of the address to his Excellency Sir Peregrine Maitland, we conceive it proper that you should be made acquainted with the result of the deliberations of the committee, for which purpose we insert a copy of the address as amended.

To his Excellency Sir Peregrine Maitland, K.C.B., Lieut. Governor of the province of Upper Canada, Major General commanding his Majesty's forces therein, &c. &c.

The humble address of Richard Beasley, Esq. Chairman of the Upper Canadian Convention to Friends of Enquiry:

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY—

In my own name, and that of thousands of the inhabitants of this province, which you are destined to govern, I beg leave to

address your Excellency, dutifully and affectionately. We would say, that the people of this province only want your confidence the more to deserve it.

Surely a people who for three years withstood every assault of an insidious, a daring and powerful enemy, merely for the maintenance of British sovereignty, need not dwell on expressions of loyalty, or be anxious about tests of respect for him who is sent to represent the Royal presence among them. On these subjects there can be but one undivided sentiment; and on the present occasion, that sentiment must be proudly elate with the additional consideration, that he who now comes to occupy the highest dignity among us, was tutored under the immortal Wellington, and has for his friend and adviser, a man no less dear to the lovers of rational liberty. Yes, Sir, we will be frank in confessing, that your near connexion with the Duke of Richmond, and arrival of that great man in these provinces, as Governor-in-Chief, generates in our breasts sensa-

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Upper Canada had, during the last twenty years, many Governors; but twenty years, with little exception, only gave experience of disappointment in the administration of civil affairs. These twenty years had almost extinguished in our breasts every hope of good, from the change of Governors; but we now feel the influence of a latent spark; we are now sanguine in looking forward to more cheering times, and to the possession of every advantage which the British constitution has so liberally bestowed. The same hands from which you will receive this address, will present you with a printed detail of "Principles and Proceedings," which, for some months past, have been agitating the public mind in this province. It will require but a glance to be assured, that serious causes must exist, for such agitation; and you will find that the most anxious desire of the great majority of those whom you have been sent to govern, is, that inquiry may be made into the state of this province, by which every real cause of agitation may cease.

Your Excellency will find, from the Journals of the Provincial Parliament, that the subject of inquiry has been repeatedly brought forward in the Commons House of Assembly; and you will find, on the same record, but too good reasons for despair of full success in that quarter. The Provincial Parliament is not, indeed, competent, with its best endeavors to inquire into every matter which retards the improvement of Upper Canada, nor has it authority to correct every evil. Those who now address your Excellency, being aware of this, and worn out with disappointment, had resolved to send home a Commission, praying his Royal Highness the Prince Regent to cause inquiry immediately to be made, that the Imperial Parliament might proceed to interfere upon information solemnly obtained. Circumstances induce them, now, to delay this measure, and entreat your Excellency to summon, with convenient speed, the Provincial Parliament, that this grand measure, big with the fate of Canada may yet originate and proceed from the most desirable source—from the regularly constituted representation of the people.

In little more than two months, the

*An error was committed all along—taking this Duke of Richmond for his predecessor, the first leader of Parliamentary reform.

weighty labors of harvest will be over, and should Parliament be in session before the end of September, every necessary step could be taken there, to prepare the way for inquiry in the Imperial Parliament, at an early stage of its next session.

This is what we anxiously desire; but if your Excellency shall see fit, the better to accomplish the desired object, to dissolve the present Commons House of Assembly, and issue writs for assembling a new set of representatives, we would more particularly rejoice, and be greatly more confident of success.

We must, with shame, acknowledge to your Excellency, that the inhabitants of Upper Canada have hitherto paid too little regard to the character of those whom they have chosen to represent them in Parliament. Not only has this been the case, but, from an indifference to the course of public affairs, from a heedlessness of the people at large, to Parliamentary proceedings, the most slovenly habits have been confirmed, and great irregularities witnessed. We shall not tire your Excellency with a recital, but of a few instances in point, nor shall we go back to quote the most shocking facts; we shall only refer to a few transactions of the present Parliament. It has sat two sessions. At the opening of the first session, when matter of vital import lay for consideration—even just grounds for impeachment of their then Governor—day after day was occupied with a squabble about the conduct of an individual out of doors—a subject altogether below the notice of a grave assembly. Bye and bye, the annual supply was voted, and put at the disposal of the Governor, who, by arbitrary acts, had thwarted the laws of the land, and then, at an extraordinary late season, resolutions were brought forward, in the teeth of the Governor's known sentiments, and seemingly only to provoke his displeasure.

The resolutions were excellent; but they were woefully mistimed. The Governor, provoked, forgot himself—forgot that solemnity which, at home, is ever particularly regarded; he went up to Parliament, without the appearance of state, without the ceremony of notice, or due consultation, and hastily put a period to the session.

The Parliament was again summoned in February last. It was expected that some degree of spirit would have been manifested, in shew of displeasure of insulted dignity. It was expected that the consideration of

resolutions, of high importance to the public weal, would be instantly resumed.

The conduct of this session, however, fell even lower than before. An offer of recompense for sufferers in war, unhappily introduced into the Speech from the Throne, and only tending to distress the feelings of a large body of people, was replied to, in most disgusting terms of acquiescence, by the representatives of these very people, while the able resolutions, brought forward at the close of the preceding session, were left neglected, as if in acknowledgment that the Assembly had been deservedly chastised for their production.

A series of trifling measures filled up the main portion of the session; the Legislative Council, no doubt encouraged by the futile and unbecoming conduct of members of Assembly, assumed rights which had long been denied even by British Peers; the annual supply was not even passed; and finally, members stole off home, so as not to leave a House to hear the Speech of dismissal which the Administrator delivered, as if in contempt, from *the chair*.

The people at large have at last been roused to a just sense of all this trifling and indecency; they see their property reduced a full half, from the mal-administration of good laws; they see prosperity completely checked; they witness discontent and poverty under the most genial climate, and rooted in the most fertile soil; they fear subjection to a foreign power, if war should again be waged; they dread a separation from the mother country, which they would most grievously lament; they wish to make an effort of recovery from all this disgrace and danger; they entreat your instant and earnest aid to assist them.

Permit me, sir, to subscribe, this first day of August, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and eighteen.

With every sentiment of respect, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

RICHARD BEASLEY.

Having likewise been appointed members of a deputation to wait upon his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor with the same, on his arrival, we have to state, that that event was no sooner announced, than it was reported that his Excellency intended to leave York immediately, on a visit to Port Talbot. His Excellency, however, delayed this visit, expecting the arrival of his Grace the Duke of Richmond, and before we could

be aware of this new determination, his Excellency had crossed over with his Grace to view the Falls of Niagara; and on his return, proceeded immediately to Port Talbot.—Notwithstanding these delays, we were not displeased that his Excellency should have time to view and understand the state of the country before we presented the address, which we had hoped would have taken place before the meeting of Parliament. But here a number of unforeseen delays frustrated our wishes; Mr. William Kerr, one of the deputation, being on the Grand Jury, was detained a week at Niagara; and on his arrival at York, Mr. Beasley had returned to the district of Gore but the evening before, to attend the Quarter Sessions, and another week elapsed before his return. This is more to be regretted, as in the meantime his Excellency the Lieut. Governor, in his speech, animadverted so severely upon the Convention, as almost to preclude a hope that he would receive the address; nevertheless, not wishing to impute to him a measure so ill-advised, we waited upon his Secretary, Major Hillier, with a copy of the same, for his Excellency's perusal, and requesting to know when he would be pleased to receive the address. Whereupon his Excellency was pleased to send for us, requesting to know *what we wanted?* We replied, that we waited upon him with an address from the representatives of a numerous and respectable body of his Majesty's loyal subjects in this province. His Excellency was pleased to ask, if we conceived he would receive an address from so unconstitutional a body; stating, at the same, that he would receive petitions from the different townships and districts. To which we replied, that the meeting was not unconstitutional; at least not in this province. He repeated, that it was, and that we had his answer; on which we made our bows, and retired.—Nevertheless, being still anxious that his Excellency might have full time to amend any hasty step he had taken, on his part, we took the liberty of again calling his attention to the subject, in substance as follows:

SIR—We have to request, that you will be pleased to lay the enclosed before his Excellency the Lieut. Governor, for his serious consideration, as affecting very materially, the feelings of a large portion of his Majesty's loyal subjects within this province.

(Signed) W. J. KERR,
(Signed) GEO. HAMILTON.

York, Oct. 23, 1818.
To MAJOR HILLIER, Secretary, York.

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To his Excellency Sir Peregrine Maitland, K. C. B., Lieutenant-Governor of the province of Upper Canada, Major-General commanding his Majesty's forces therein, &c. &c. &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY :

The undersigned, a deputation appointed by a numerous meeting of his Majesty's loyal subjects, from the different districts within this province, to present to your Excellency a most respectful address, humbly stating to your Excellency, as the representative of his Majesty, the difficulties they labor under, and requesting your Excellency's attention thereto, notwithstanding they have received your Excellency's determination to reject the same, without even deigning to give it a perusal; and although it may appear highly indecorous in them again to address your Excellency, on the same subject; nevertheless, being most unwilling to state to their constituents the most ungracious reception they have met with, hope that this will plead a sufficient excuse for again calling your Excellency's attention to a serious consideration of the character of those persons, styling themselves REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NUMEROUS MEETINGS THROUGHOUT THIS PROVINCE.

Your Excellency, they trust, will find, on the most strict investigation, that their conduct during the late war, was most exemplary—that the meeting of the Convention of Friends to Enquiry, although so severely animadverted upon in your Excellency's Speech from the Throne, and re-echoed back by one branch of the Legislature (the House of Commons,) as a systematic attempt to organize sedition, was held in the capital of this province, in the face of day, and in the most open manner—that all their proceedings were immediately published—and that the resolutions then entered into and maturely deliberated upon, were their own act, uninfluenced by any person whatever—that they beg leave to differ from your Excellency, as to the unconstitutionality of their proceedings: they are confident that the intention of the meeting was upright and laudable, and they conceive them to have

been perfectly constitutional, in as much as they are not aware of any act rendering such meetings unlawful. Indeed, they may infer, from your Excellency's address to the Legislature on that head, that their constituents have met together, lawfully and constitutionally, for the pure purpose of petitioning his Majesty's representative for a redress of grievances; as otherwise there could be no occasion to recommend the passing an act to declare unlawful such meetings; which the undersigned consider their dearest and most sacred birth right, and an unalienable privilege secured to them by the virtue of their ancestors.

RICHARD BEASLEY,
WILLIAM J. KERR,
GEORGE HAMILTON,

York, Oct. 23, 1818.

To which we received his Secretary's note in reply:

Government House, }
York, Oct. 23, 1818, 7 P. M. }

GENTLEMEN—His Excellency the Lt. Governor being from home when I received your letter of this date, I have not till now had an opportunity of offering to him the paper it enclosed; which I have now to return, as his Excellency declines receiving it, for the reasons already stated.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant,

GEORGE HILLIER, *Secretary.*

To W. J. Kerr and G. Hamilton, Esqrs.

The above closes the conference; and we trust you will perceive in our letter to his Excellency, our full sentiments on the occasion.

We have only, therefore, to add, that we remain, with sentiments of respect, gentlemen, your most obedient servants,

RICHARD BEASLEY,
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PARLIAMENT OF UPPER CANADA.

Wednesday, 21st October.

Mr. Jones moved, that the House do now resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration that part of his Excellency's speech, at the present session, which relates to the meeting of delegates in Convention. Carried.

Thursday, 22d October.

The House went into committee, to take into consideration that part of his Excellency's speech, at the opening of the present session, which relates to the meeting of delegates in Convention.

Mr. Burnham reported, that the committee had agreed to some resolutions, which he was directed to submit, for the adoption of the House, which were received and adopted, *nem. con.*, as follows:

1st. RESOLVED—That the rights of the people of this province, individually, or collectively, to petition our gracious Sovereign, for the redress of any public or private grievance, is their birthright as British subjects, preserved to them by that free constitution which they have received, and which, by the generous exertions of our mother country, has, through an arduous contest, been unimpaired.

2nd. RESOLVED—That the Commons House of Assembly are the only constitutional representatives of the people of this province.

3rd. RESOLVED—That the electing, assembling, sitting and proceedings of certain persons calling themselves representatives, or delegates, from the different districts of this province, and met in general Convention, at York, for the purpose of deliberating upon matters of public concern, is highly derogatory and repugnant to the spirit of the constitution of this province, and tends greatly to disturb the public tranquility.

4th. RESOLVED—That while this committee regret, that some subjects of his Majesty, whose allegiance and fidelity are above suspicion, have been deluded by the unwearied and persevering attempts of the factious, to lend their countenances to measures so disgraceful, they cannot admit that their example should give a sanction to proceedings manifestly dangerous to the peace

and security of the province; proceedings which, it is painful and humiliating to observe, have drawn upon this loyal province, the attention of other countries, and of our sister province, and even of our parent state, as to a colony impatient of its allegiance, and, ungrateful for the fostering care that has cherished its infancy, looking anxiously to the period of its strength, as to the moment of its revolt.

5th. RESOLVED—That to repel at once so foul an imputation; to undeceive the misguided; to stifle the hopes of the disturbers of public peace, and to give to our parent state and to the world, the best grounded assurance, that the inhabitants of this province know how to prize their happiness in belonging to the most exalted nation upon earth, and desire no more than the secure possession of that just liberty, which her own more immediate children enjoy, it is the opinion of this committee, that some such Legislative provisions should be enacted, (as the wisdom of the Imperial Parliament has found it proper to provide, to meet similar occasions.) which may hereafter put it out of the power of any designing persons to organize discontent, and degrade the character of the province.

6th. RESOLVED—That these resolutions be communicated to the hon. the Legislative Council.

Present—Messrs. Burwell, M^r Martin, Van Koughnett, Cameron, Durand, Crysler, Nelles, Howard, Hatt, Jones, Cotter, Swayze, Burnham—13.

Wednesday, Oct. 28.

Mr. Jones obtained leave to bring in, a bill to prevent certain meetings in this province, which was read the first time.

Saturday, Oct. 31.

The bill to prevent certain meetings in this province, being read the third time—

Mr. Van Koughnett moved, that it do now pass, and that it be entitled, "An act to prevent certain meetings within this province;" upon which the House divided, and the Yeas and Nays taken, as follows:—Yeas, Messrs. Swayze, Fraser, Cotter, Clench, Hatt, Van Koughnett, Durand, Burnham, Cameron, Robinson, Howard,

Jones, N carried in 12, and th

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Jones, Nelles—13.—*Nays*, Mr. Casey—carried in the affirmative, by a majority of 12, and the bill signed.

You have afforded reasonable aid to the constitution, by your bill entitled "*An act for preventing certain meetings within this province.*" It is a subject for deep regret, that the constitution should have stood in need of such aid; but let us hope that the good disposition of his Majesty's subjects will put an early period to this unhappy necessity.

If any portion of the people of this province be indeed aggrieved, they are well aware that a dutiful petition, proceeding from themselves, would find easy access to the foot of his Majesty's throne.

Gentlemen of the House of Assembly:

I thank you, in the name of his Majesty, for the supplies you have granted for the service of the current and the ensuing year.

In future, I hope to relieve you from the annual demand for the support of the Surveyor General's department.

You have added to the character of the province, by the unanimous expression of sentiments which are highly worthy of the enlightened representatives of a free and generous people. I could not refuse myself the pleasure of transmitting your resolutions to his Majesty's Government, well convinced that they would prove grateful to the Royal personage who presides over it; and confident that they will be received with affectionate approbation, by every description of your fellow subjects in the mother country.

Honorable Gentlemen, and Gentlemen:

There are a few objects of general importance, which, had the public mind been tranquil, I should have brought before you early in the session. Of these I shall mention one, which appears to me to require, in a peculiar degree, your calm and deliberate consideration: I mean the providing of a remedy for the unequal pressure of the road laws. By offering, at present, this subject to your notice, I hope to benefit by the attention you will be pleased to bestow upon it during the recess.

After which, the honorable the Speaker of the Legislative Council announced that the Parliament was prorogued to the 2d of January next.

An act for preventing certain Meetings within this province.

WHEREAS, the election or appointment of Assemblies, purporting to represent the people, or any description of the people, under pretence of deliberating on matters of public concern, or of preparing or presenting petitions, complaints, remonstrances and declarations, and other addresses, to the King, or to both or either House of Parliament, for alteration of matters established by law, or redress of alleged grievances in church or state, may be made use of to serve the end of factions and seditious persons, to the violation of the public peace, and manifest, encouragement of riot, tumult and disorder.

It is hereby enacted, That all such assemblies, committees, or other bodies of persons elected, or otherwise constituted or appointed, shall be held and taken to be unlawful assemblies; and that all persons giving or publishing notice of the election to be made of such persons, or delegates, or attending, voting or acting by any means, are guilty of a high misdemeanor.

Provided always, That nothing in this act contained, shall impede the just exercise of the undoubted right of his Majesty's subjects, to petition the King or Parliament, for redress of any public or private greivances.

York, 27th Nov., 1818.

At 3 o'clock this day, his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor proceeded in state, to the Legislative Council chamber, where the House of Assembly having been summoned to attend, his Excellency gave the Royal assent to the bills mentioned below, and closed the session with the following SPEECH:

Honorable Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly:

It does not appear that any alteration has occurred in the state of his Majesty's indisposition,

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M^r Martin, and, Crys- es, Cotter,

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l, "An act within this use divided, as follows: er, Cotter, Durand, Howard,

REVIEW.

Here was an end to the enquiry into the state of the province, and here was confirmed a system of despotism, which nothing but insurrection caused to be put down.

Now that twenty-four years have elapsed since these occurrences: now that another system has been established; and now that matters can be judged of calmly and dispassionately, it is well to review the whole, so as to determine where was truth, where falsehood and error, for the benefit of future.

Up to the year 1818, there had been no instance, I believe, of any thing akin to sedition being known in Lower Canada; and the war had weeded from the upper province, every individual who was seditious. They had either gone quietly off, or openly taken up arms; and the members of Convention were absolutely the *elite* of the most loyal part of the population.

I, ROBERT GOURLAY, who advised that Convention, now ROBERT FLEMING GOURLAY, challenge scrutiny into its every transaction: and I assert, that not one word in the above record affords evidence of sedition, but the contrary. Nevertheless, a Lieutenant-Governor no sooner arrives in the province than he (by advice, no doubt of his Council and the Colonial department,) declares war against this Convention—a Convention which had resolved, “the better to denote the purity of its object, as well as distinguish it from Conventions formed to control and command public affairs,” “that it should be denominated ‘THE UPPER CANADIAN CONVENTION OF FRIENDS TO ENQUIRY.’” He refuses to see the deputation—three Magistrates—and anon, we find him justified in this most illiberal and uncourteous conduct, by assertions and insinuations of the Assembly, base in the ex-

treme, false and malignant. On these we find an act passed, to deprive the people of their right to meet by delegation—the only mode of transacting any kind of public business, peaceably and effectually: and we find the Lieutenant Governor, in his closing speech, telling *Parliament*, that it has “afforded reasonable aid to the Constitution,” by “An act for preventing certain meetings,” and telling gentlemen of the House of Assembly, that they have “added to the character of the province, by the unanimous expression of sentiments, highly worthy of the enlightened representatives of a free and generous people.” Further, expressing pleasure in transmitting their resolutions to his Majesty’s Government, “well convinced, that they would prove grateful to the Royal personage”!!

Thus fortified, what does this Lieutenant Governor do? He first puts out of the Commission of the Peace, all Magistrates throughout the province, who had been friendly to my measures, except such as chose to sign a mean recantation of their principles; and after an order was received from home, to grant lands to militiamen, for their services in war, he takes upon himself to deny this grant to those who were members of the Convention. From them it was withheld for seven years, and not yielded till the House of Assembly took up the subject, passed a series of resolutions, and addressed his Excellency thereon.

To complete this record, I extract, below, from the Journals of the Assembly the resolutions, with the votes on amendment: also, the Assembly’s address to his Majesty, and the Lieutenant Governor’s reply, pledging himself to transmit the same.

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COMMONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

January 11th, 1826.

Agreeably to the order of the day, the House went into committee, on the state of the province.

Mr. Scollick was called to the chair.

The House resumed.

Mr. Scollick reported, that the committee had agreed to a series of resolutions, which he was directed to submit for the adoption of the House, and asked leave to sit again to-morrow.

The report was ordered to be received, and leave was granted accordingly.

The first resolution was then read, as follows:

RESOLVED, That many who were conspicuous during the late war, for their firm attachment to his Majesty, and for their zeal and loyalty in the defence of this province, were connected with the Convention of 1818, formed by the people, to seek, by petition to the throne, for the redress of grievances.

In amendment, Mr. Attorney General, seconded by Mr. C. Jones, moves, that after the word "resolved," in the original resolution, the remaining words be expunged, and the following words inserted—"That this House is satisfied, that the political principles and plans of Mr. Gourlay, are hostile to the Government of this country, and that no good and loyal subject can hesitate to declare his entire disapprobation of them; and that any persons who still vindicate and avow them, are unworthy the confidence of the Government or people of this province; although the House is convinced, that by far the greater number of those who acted with him, in this country, were, at the time, unconscious of the tendency of his measures."

On which the House divided, and the yeas and nays being taken, were as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Attorney General, Burnham, Burke, Cameron, Crysler, Gordon, C. Jones, D. Jones, J. Jones, McDonell, Morris, and VanKoughnet—12.

Nays—Messrs. Atkinson, Baby, Beardsley, Beasley, Clark, Coleman, Fothergill, Hamilton, Hornor, Leferty, Matthews, McBride, Perry, Playter, Randal, Rolph, Scollick, Thompson, Thomson, Wilkinson, and Wilson—21.

The question was decided in the negative, by a majority of nine, and lost accordingly.

The original resolution, as reported by the committee on the state of the province, was then put, on which the House divided, and the yeas and nays being taken, were as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Atkinson, Baby, Beardsley, Beasley, Burnham, Cameron, Clark, Coleman, Fothergill, Hamilton, Hornor, C. Jones, D. Jones, Leferty, Matthews, McBride, Morris, Perry, Playter, Randall, Rolph, Thompson, Thomson, VanKoughnet, Wilkinson, and Wilson—26.

Nays—Messrs. Attorney General, Burke, Crysler, J. Jones, McDonell, and Scollick—6.

The question was carried in the affirmative, by a majority of twenty, and it was

RESOLVED, That many who were conspicuous during the late war, for their firm attachment to his Majesty, and for their zeal and loyalty in the defence of this province, were connected with the Convention of 1818, formed by the people, to seek, by petition to the throne, for the redress of grievances.

The second resolution was then read, as follows:

RESOLVED, That the promised bounty in land, of his late most gracious Majesty, on account of meritorious service during the late war, has been withheld from some persons entitled to it, on account of their connexion with the said Convention, although they never have been tried by any lawful or constitutional tribunal whatsoever, for the part they acted.

In amendment, Mr. Morris, seconded by Mr. VanKoughnet, moves, that after the word "Convention," in the original resolution, the remaining words be expunged.

On which the House divided, and the yeas and nays being taken, were as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Attorney General, Burke, Burnham, Cameron, C. Jones, D. Jones, J. Jones, Morris, McDonell, VanKoughnet, and Walsh—11.

Nays—Messrs. Atkinson, Baby, Beardsley, Beasley, Clark, Coleman, Crysler, Fothergill, Hamilton, Hornor, Leferty, Matthews, McBride, Perry, Playter, Randal, Rolph, Scollick, Thompson, Thomson, Wilkinson, and Wilson—22.

The question was decided in the negative, by a majority of eleven, and was lost accordingly.

The original question was then put, on which the House divided, and the yeas and nays being taken, were as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Atkinson, Baby, Beardsley, Beasley, Clark, Coleman, Fothergill, Hamilton, Hornor, Leferty, Matthews, McBride, Perry, Playter, Randal, Rolph, Thompson, Thomson, Wilkinson, and Wilson—20.

Nays—Messrs. Attorney General, Burnham, Burke, Cameron, Crysler, Gordon, C. Jones, D. Jones, J. Jones, McDonell, Morris, Scollick, VanKoughnet, & Walsh—14.

The question was carried in the affirmative, by a majority of six, and it was

RESOLVED, That the promised bounty in land, of his late most gracious Majesty, on account of meritorious service during the late war, has been withheld from some persons entitled to it, on account of their connexion with the said Convention, although they never have been tried by any lawful or constitutional tribunal whatsoever, for the part they acted.

The third resolution was then read, as follows :

RESOLVED, That this House is satisfied of the loyalty and patriotism of such delegates, (to Convention, 1818,) and the purity of the intentions of the people who appointed them ; while the withholding from such meritorious persons the promised and well earned bounty of their Sovereign, on account of their exertions to procure a redress of public grievances, implies a serious and unmerited imputation, which not only affects them and their posterity, but also the people who appointed them.

In amendment, Mr. C. Jones, seconded by Mr. Gordon, moves, that after the word "that," in the original resolution, the following be inserted—"in the opinion of this House, Robert Gourlay was the principal instigator of the Convention ; and that his principles are Republican in the extreme, and adverse to our Monarchical, free and most glorious constitution ; and although it was no doubt his intention to mislead, yet," &c., &c., &c.

On which the House divided, and the yeas and nays being taken, were as follows :

Yeas—Messrs. Attorney General, Burnham, Burke, Cameron, Crysler, Gordon, C. Jones, J. Jones, McDonell, VanKoughnet and Walsh—11.

Nays—Messrs. Atkinson, Baby, Beardsley, Beasley, Clark, Coleman, Fothergill, Hamilton, Hornor, D. Jones, Leferty, Matthews, McBride, Morris, Perry, Playter, Randal, Rolph, Scollick, Thompson, Thomson, Wilkinson and Wilson—23.

The question was decided in the negative, by a majority of twelve, and lost accordingly.

The original question was then put, on which the House divided, and the yeas and nays being taken, were as follows :

Yeas—Messrs. Atkinson, Baby, Beardsley, Beasley, Clark, Coleman, Fothergill, Hamilton, Hornor, Leferty, Matthews, McBride, Perry, Playter, Randal, Rolph, Thompson, Thomson, Wilkinson, and Wilson—20.

Nays—Messrs. Attorney General, Burnham, Burke, Cameron, Crysler, Gordon, C. Jones, D. Jones, J. Jones, McDonell, Morris, Scollick, VanKoughnet, and Walsh—14.

The question was carried in the affirmative, by a majority of six, and it was

RESOLVED, That this House is satisfied of the loyalty and patriotism of such delegates, and the purity of the intentions of the people who appointed them, while the withholding from such meritorious persons the promised and well earned bounty of their sovereign, on account of their exertions to procure a redress of public grievances, implies serious and unmerited imputation, which not only affects them and their posterity, but also the people who appointed them.

The fourth resolution was then put, on which the House divided, and the yeas and nays being taken, were as follows :

Yeas—Messrs. Atkinson, Baby, Beardsley, Beasley, Clark, Coleman, Fothergill, Hamilton, Hornor, Leferty, Matthews, McBride, Perry, Playter, Randal, Rolph, Thompson, Thomson, Wilkinson, and Wilson—20.

Nays—Messrs. Attorney General, Burnham, Burke, Cameron, Crysler, Gordon, C. Jones, D. Jones, J. Jones, McDonell, Morris, Scollick, VanKoughnet and Walsh—14.

The question was carried in the affirmative, by a majority of six, and it was

RESOLVED, That to withdraw the gracious promise given from the throne, on such a ground, bespeaks a system, the direct tendency and consequence of which, is the prevention of the free expression of public opinion against public grievances, however great, and the sacrifice of those who exert themselves for their redress.

The fifth resolution was then put, on which the House divided, and the yeas and nays being taken, were as follows :

Yeas—Messrs. Atkinson, Baby, Beardsley, Beasley, Clark, Coleman, Fothergill,

Hamilton, McBride, Thompson—20.

Nays—Burnham, Bu Jones, Morris, —14.

The question was carried in the affirmative, by a

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Hamilton, Hornor, Lefferty, Matthews, Mc-Bride, Perré, Playter, Randal, Rolph, Thompson, Tomson, Wilkinson, and Wilson—20.

Nays—Messrs. Attorney General, Burnham, Burke, Cameron, Chrysler, Gordon, C. Jones, D. Jones, J. Jones, McDonell, Morris, Scolliek, VanKoughnet and Walsh—14.

The question was carried in the affirmative, by a majority of six, and it was

RESOLVED, That an humble address, grounded on the foregoing resolutions, be presented to his Majesty, representing the claim of such persons to receive the promised bounty in land, according to their rank in the militia.

ADDRESS

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

Most Gracious Sovereign :

We, your Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, the Commons of Upper Canada, in Provincial Parliament assembled, beg leave humbly to approach your Majesty, with feelings of gratitude for the share we enjoy in the liberality of your Imperial Government, and the glories of your illustrious reign.

We would most humbly represent, that many who were conspicuous during the late war, for their firm attachment to your Majesty, and for their zeal and loyalty in the defence of this province, were connected with the Convention of 1818, formed by the people, to seek, by petition to the Throne, for the redress of grievances; and that the promised bounty in lands, of your most gracious Majesty, on account of such meritorious services, has been withheld from some persons entitled to it, on account of their connexion with the said Convention; although they never have been tried by any lawful or constitutional tribunal, for the part they acted.

We further beg leave humbly to represent, that we are fully satisfied of the loyalty and patriotism of such persons, and the purity of the intention of the people who appointed them as delegates to such Convention, while we cannot otherwise than painfully regard the withholding from such meritorious persons, the promised and well earned bounty of their sovereign, on account of their ex-

ertions to procure redress of public grievances, as implying a serious and unmerited imputation, which not only affects them and their posterity, but also the people who appointed them.

Nor do we less feel, most gracious Sovereign, that the withdrawing the gracious promise given from the Throne, on such a ground, by the Provincial Government, bespeaks a system, the direct tendency and consequence of which is, the prevention of the free expression of public opinion against public grievances, however great, and the sacrifice of those who exert themselves for their redress.

Permit us, therefore, most gracious Sovereign, humbly to represent the expediency and justice of confirming to all such persons, the promised grant of land for their meritorious services; and of removing what we cannot but regard as the continued expression of the Royal displeasure towards some of your most faithful subjects, who only exercised the right of petitioning against public grievances, the existence of which is equally inconsistent with the happiness of the people, and the honor of the Crown: and remote as the people of this province are from the seat of your Imperial Government, we hold the right of so offering our petitions to the Throne, as one of those inestimable liberties which we most humbly hope will never be abridged.

REPLY OF THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR.

Gentlemen of the House of Assembly :

I will transmit to his Majesty your address against the principle of withholding the King's bounty of lands from the officers of militia who were members of the Convention of 1818—a principle which has been entirely approved of, by his Majesty's Government. I feel it due to myself and to the House of Assembly, to state, explicitly, that, as a long interval has since elapsed, I shall deem it necessary, at the same time, to assure his Majesty, that I fully concur with the House of Assembly, that many who were conspicuous during the late war, for their firm attachment to his Majesty, and for their zeal and loyalty in the defence of this province, were connected with the Convention; and that I have, in common with the House of Assembly of that period, ex-

pressed my deep regret that they were so connected: That I am equally convinced, that many individuals, whatever may have been their previous character or conduct, who were for a time so far imposed upon as to become promoters of the Convention, did not entertain designs hostile to the constitution, or to the peace of the country: That I have shewn my readiness to discriminate, whenever, upon the application of the party, satisfactory circumstances have enabled me to do so; and that I have not felt that I could properly go beyond this, without disregarding what was due to the best interests of society, and to the sense of the Legislature, strongly and expressly declared, at that period.

I shall, at the same time, solicit the atten-

tion of his Majesty to the resolutions of the House of Assembly, and the act of the Legislature, passed when the occurrences to which they refer, were recent, and when the proceedings of the Convention of Delegates, and their consequences, could be most correctly appreciated.

I shall also feel it my duty to make his Majesty aware, that there is so little room for an implication, that the acknowledged right of the people to petition for a redress of grievances, has been ever interfered with, or attempted to be controlled, that a recommendation to leave it free and unrestrained, in any measure which it might be deemed proper to enact, was given from the Throne, and carefully observed by the Legislature.



RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION.

With these last documents exhibited, we have now a complete case for judgment; and an important one it is—not for me only, but for all: for the maintenance of truth, the rights of man, aye, and the duties.

At a meeting of inhabitants of Niagara township—a member of Parliament in the chair—it is resolved to follow my advice, and send to England a petition.

Nothing can be more orderly than the course pursued; nevertheless, a Legislative Councillor addresses the public, to generate groundless suspicions, cause false alarms, and countenance absurd doctrines. The good sense of the people speedily sets this aside, and measures are proceeded with.

Delegates from all the townships of the district meet, transact business, agree to resolutions, and appoint a committee of management.

The committee causes a pamphlet to be published. I am arrested for this, to be tried; and delegates meet in Convention, when I advise delay till after my trial;—till after Parliament meets, and till the people are better informed.

I am tried, and honorably acquitted: the legality of all established; and at a public dinner there is rejoicing, and confident ex-

pectation, that all will now proceed peaceably and well.

Parliament being met, the Lieutenant Governor points to sedition, which no where exists; and proposes a law to circumscribe public liberty. The Legislative Council is wary in reply; but representatives of the people become ready tools of oppression, and smitten with "*indignation*," draw a bill of indictment against their constituents.

A deputation from the Convention begs to be heard, on the part of the people; but courtesy is disregarded: and three gentlemen—Magistrates, and distinguished for loyalty—are spurned from the presence of the Governor.

Finally, an act is passed, at once libelling the people and depriving them of means to appeal to the sovereign power,—an act so shameful, that the same Parliament repealed it, March 7, 1820, as "*inexpedient*." In fact, by that time it had accomplished its end. I was banished, and worse than murdered, under its deadly shade.

The resolutions, preparatory to this villainous act, are too loathsome to be dwelt on; but it is well to expose the lying pretence, that the Imperial Parliament had, "*to meet similar occasions*," resorted to "*some such legislation*." The Imperial Parliament

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never did any thing so base, although the Irish Parliament did; and soon after sold its own existence, through the agency of a man who put a period to his own.

The act was unconstitutional, as all acts are, which mock common sense, and counteract the grand principles of liberty. It would have justified rebellion; which never can be justified, so long as the people are permitted to meet peaceably, by delegate, for the expression of opinion, and carrying out lawful objects.

The repeal of this act, left the people of Canada without excuse, in taking up arms against the Government: and asking for a Convention, as McKenzie did, when Sir Francis B. Head sent him a flag of truce, was among the silly doings of his low and blackguard outbreak. The people had then a right to meet in Convention, unasked for; but, unfortunately, they had no leader—no one to guide them in wisdom's ways—"in paths of peace."

The Home Government does not prevent Chartists from meeting, by delegate, in Convention. Even their mob meetings are not checked, when peaceable. The mob meeting, at Thorold, three years ago—called a "DURHAM MEETING"—was lawful, with its flags and absurd resolutions: nor did Sir George Arthur refuse an audience and reply to its three deputies, though not one of them was in the Commission of the Peace: in fact, courtesy is cheap, and always expedient.

The mob meeting—*alias* Durham meeting—on Yonge street, was most wrongfully opposed by the Sheriff: and its bloody record will long mark the spirit of the Compact, now, happily, humbled in the dust.

In short, to meet in any place, at any time, and in any number, is a *right* of man acknowledged, acted on, and never interfered with, when peace is not endangered, at home. To submit to delegation, is a *duty* of man—because no business can be matured by a multitude; and when delegates are chosen, there is a beginning of order, a hope of good, and the best opportunity for calm discussion, and sound conclusion.

In England, county meetings are called by the Sheriff, on requisition. He presides, verifies resolutions and petitions, which are received by the Sovereign or Parliament, as regular proceedings, demanding respect—not in courtesy, but in *right*. Proceedings of mob meetings, are received only in courtesy; and proceedings—resolutions or

petitions—of regularly appointed delegates, are more worthy of being courteously received, as the actors can better be identified—better be conversed or corresponded with.

Meetings of delegates, may be called a Convention, a Congress, or a Conference: it matters not what the name is. Such meetings may either be regularly constituted under the law of the land, for certain ends, as, in the United States, Conventions are regularly appointed, from time to time, to draw up and amend State constitutions: or, they may be constituted, at pleasure, by any set of men, simply to express their *will*, or effect any lawful purpose. Between these kinds of meetings, there is a clear distinction; and in the United States, where Conventions are constantly holding, there is never either doubt or danger from confounding the one with the other. Conventions, in the United States, are the safety valves by which the ignorance and vehemence of that country are kept from doing harm; and in the course of time, experience, yet much wanted there, will mature all for good.

I being banished, and the gagging law repealed, there was a general election, 1820, the result of which was thus reported, in British newspapers.

"We learn that the late election for members of Parliament for Upper Canada, has terminated in the almost unanimous choice of persons who are political friends of Mr. Gourlay. It would appear from this, that the popular voice is against the administration."

If this was true, how easy was it for my political friends to follow up the object of the Convention, and invite a commission of Enquiry from England. I felt confident that they would; and after redeeming my pledge, by printing a volume of Statistics, put to press in London, a second volume, preparatory to enquiry, without which I saw this volume would prove but a will-o'-the-wisp. Alas! on "the tenth day of September, eighteen hundred and twenty one,"† I had reason to regret my confidence; and from that day, all was ruin and wretchedness, with my work, myself, and the province. My "political friends" proved good for nothing but confirming despotism; and it was not till after another election that they had spirit even to move for the land

*See general Introduction to Statistical Account of Upper Canada, page LIX.

†See page 560, vol. 2, Statistical Account of Upper Canada.

unjustly withheld from those who were members of the Convention, as recorded above.

These last recorded documents complete the case for judgment; and I would invoke the gravest consideration to what follows.

Let it be premised, that the Attorney-General is not to be viewed merely as an individual, but as the mouth piece of the local Government, and, in all probability, writer of Sir Peregrine Maitland's speeches, first and last exhibited.

The first resolution of the Assembly, 1826, is assailed, through me, whose "*principles and plans*," the Attorney General declares "*hostile to the Government*," &c. He maintains a tissue of falsehood prejudicial to my character, after his myrmidons had twice failed, in Courts of Justice, to prove aught against me; and after my character and conduct, both at home and abroad, had been fully vindicated—first on the warrant, above copied out, and again on a false warrant, shamelessly acted on: after, too, he himself had pleaded against me, while palpably enfeebled with cruel imprisonment, which imprisonment the United Parliament has unanimously found "illegal, unconstitutional, and without excuse or palliation."

Nor is he discomfited by one vote of the Assembly, and after members of Convention are acquitted of crime—members who had "never been tried by any lawful or constitutional tribunal whatever," but, voting for the amendment on the third resolution, he remains steadfast in malignity, establishing only one truth, that "Robert Gourlay was the principal instigator of the Convention"—a truth which Robert Gourlay is ever proud to acknowledge.

Members of Convention, my "political friends," unscathed by three amendments, scandalizing me and decency, have yet to run the gauntlet, pertinaciously opposed by the Attorney General and his tail.

Finally, the Assembly "begs leave humbly to approach" his Majesty. Humbly approach, indeed! praying for land unjustly withheld ten years, after the lapse of six, whereina my "political friends" should have stood up manfully asserting their rights, those of the people, and mine, most of all, trodden down—stood up to re-organize the Convention, or stop supplies till an address to the Throne was carried home by Commissioners—not sent home by a Lieutenant Governor, who could misrepresent every fact, and disguise every feature.

But what was the immediate consequence of their *humble approach*, through him?—a denial of the "principle" asserted by the Assembly, and an openly declared confirmation of despotism!

We here see the Lieutenant Governor, not admitting "serious and unmerited imputation," affecting not only "them and their posterity, but also the people who appointed them"—not admitting "a system, the direct tendency of which is the prevention of the free expression of opinion;" but the contrary. We see a declared purpose, to hold members of Convention up to his Majesty as objects of pity, and pleaders for pardon—individuals who "were, for a time, so far imposed upon as to become promoters of the Convention." We see a declared practice—"readiness to discriminate whenever, upon application of the party, satisfactory circumstances have enabled" the Lieutenant Governor—to do what?—grant favors, when the *party* became sufficiently humble and sycophantic to do his bidding, on all occasions, regardless of duty, principle, or truth.

He then goes on to say that he will "solicit the attention of his Majesty to the resolutions of the House of Assembly, and the act of the Legislature, passed when the occurrences to which they refer, were recent;" and, to be sure, nothing could be better than these resolutions and that act, to confirm his Majesty in error. I characterized them before; but now that they are a second time put to use, after the lapse of eight years, it is worth while, disgusting as the task may be, to expose more clearly their craft, their fallacy, and their falsehood.

The objects of the Convention were very simple—to obtain land for militiamen, payment for losses in war, and inquiry into abuses, particularly what related to the disposal of wild land. The Convention was composed, as already said, of the *élite* of the most loyal population; and there were only two of them who proved recreant, when met to send home a Commission, with petitions, to the Prince Regent. All that was to be done, would have been accomplished in one day, but for the annoyance of these two individuals—the grossest part of those acting, it was determined, for the sake of decency, should not be published in the transactions, although I have still by me a newspaper publication, which may be seen if called for, as a sample of grossness. The writer of it, who was supplanted by his constituents afterwards, confessed, that he obtained a grant of land from Government, for

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what he did. This was so outrageous, that nothing but madness could find apology; and sure enough the individual died, after years of confinement, in a mad house.

The other individual, being a lawyer, managed less grossly, but more deceitfully; and finally finished his career in the United States, still worse circumstanced. With all their faults, however, these men were loyal; and one had displayed the utmost courage in defence of the country, during war.

It will be seen, by the published transactions, that one effort of these two, was to get the Convention to yield up its business of sending home petitions to the House of Assembly; and Mr. Jonas Jones, with others, had, at township meetings, endeavored to make believe, that the House of Assembly only, had such right. It was highly important, for the liberty of the subject, to maintain the contrary; and it will be seen, that the Convention did maintain this principle, although it expressed hope and afforded opportunity, that the Assembly might render acting upon it unnecessary, by doing the business.

The Assembly's resolutions, first and last, go to extinguish the people's *right*, and to substitute its *will*, in lieu thereof. Nay, its resolutions, and addresses thereon, are so worded as to make appear, that the Convention was seditiously and treasonably arrogating rights and powers, which belonged only to the Assembly—a position false and dangerous in the extreme; and to be sure, the Assembly and Lieutenant Governor in con-

cert, play at *hocus pocus* so adroitly, as to confirm all they want as true, in the eyes of the Sovereign, so as to obtain the Sovereign's authority for extinction of the people's most essential right—that of direct petitioning.

The concluding paragraph of the Reply, exhibits a master piece of deception and impudence. As if there was a want of positive evidence, that the people's most essential right had been taken away by an unconstitutional act, attention is drawn to "*implication*;" and, in the very act of strangling liberty "*a recommendation to leave it free and unrestrained*," is held out as "*given from the Throne, and carefully observed by the Legislature!*"

I question if ever before there was such a sample of barefaced, recorded villany. All, too, from beginning to end of the Reply, contradicting in the most express terms, every item of the Assembly's Address. But Parliament was being prorogued; there was no opportunity left for remonstrance; and before next meeting, the loyal militiamen, who had been so long and grossly wronged, sat down contented with their dirty acres.

Thank God, I have lived till the present day, to publish these Chronicles, and to protest against the whole—not for myself—not for Canada—not for time; but for all, and for eternity: yes, it is by such records only that truth can finally triumph, and salvation be obtained.



FINALLY CONCLUDED.

CERES, (Lot 3, 4th con.)

Dereham, November 2, 1857.

Last June, boarding in the same house with Mr. John Young, chief clerk in Armour's book store, he told me that, for years back, a parcel of pamphlets published by me, 1842, had lain in the warehouse uncalled for. They proved to be "CHRONICLES OF CANADA," 49 copies, of which I had lost sight, and which then came opportunely to

hand, as I was able to give away upwards of 30 copies to members of the Legislature.

Above, all important matter is copied out, as will be witnessed by gentlemen possessing the original; and, I will say, that more important matter for reflection never was laid before the Canadian public.

When the present constitution was given to Canada, by the British Parliament, many thought all was right: so thought not I;

but, it was in vain to set up opposition, experience only could manifest the truth ; and he is blind indeed who has not occular demonstration of it now. It has been hinted to me that I should offer as a Candidate at next general election, for a seat in parliament, and I take opportunity to say that I would not sit in such, save but to move for a Convention in order to drawing up a new Constitution, urgently called for.

Having seen eighty summers and being at present in poor health, I am fit for no

great exertion ; but, I am here in my own house ready to advise ; and first, I may be conversed with by Inhabitants of Derham : then, of the adjoining municipalities of Norwich, Ingersoll, and Woodstock. Their friendly manifestations for me last session of parliament was gratifying ; and, should they heartily enter into my views of a Convention, that may be in session by next Christmas.

ROB. F. GOURLAY.

MAN IS A RECORDING ANIMAL; and this indeed is the best definition of him. Inferior animals communicate, by voice and signal, over space; but, through time, have no medium of intelligence, and from generation to generation remain the same. They are indeed the beasts that perish; but man is the aspirant to excellence and the candidate for immortality. His spirit, though cradled in weakness and surrounded with difficulty, is destined to gain the ascendant and to triumph over every ill, —to enjoy a rational millenium on earth and at last to hold converse with Heaven.

Such has been my fate, during the last twenty-one years, that I should not even know myself, but for records;—should not distinctly remember where I have been, how employed, who with, and of what thinking;—should never be able to correct my errors or accomplish my undertakings. Persuaded of this, I began, many years ago, to preserve my papers; and, in 1826, to print them, regularly classed, lettered and numbered, for after reference.—What is contained within this cover, is a continuation; and, should I live to have peace and freedom, these documents, however worthless by themselves, and disjointed as at present, may enable me to mature projects of mightiest moment to humanity.

Even at present my records are consolatory. They are the clue to reflection on past life; and this reflection gives assurance that the chain of causes and effects proceeds from Almighty power: gives assurance that there is a Providence—a Disposer of Events—a Superior Intelligence, whose ways are not as our ways;—who can guide us through darkness into light, and over rugged paths to tranquility.

It is nearly twenty-nine years since I engaged in the service of laborers. For this I was maltreated at home: for this, I went to England and was persecuted there: this kindled my zeal in Canada; and for this I was banished; in the gloomiest stage of existence, this was ever in view; and this made years of imprisonment pass swiftly away; this has deprived me of all property, separated me from my children, and left me alone in the world, but, my records give assurance, that every misfortune has been only a step towards good; and, that up to the present moment, all is for the best. I believe, indeed, that no other train of events could have prepared me to assert, with growing confidence, what no other man has thought of or dared to do, that, “without altering a single statute, changing a single institution, or interfering with property, the whole system of the Poor laws and rates may be dispensed with in twenty years, while the National debt may be paid off, within fifty years, from sales of colonial lands.”

ROBT. GOURLAY.

2, BRIDGE STREET, LEITH, Nov. 26, 1829.

